









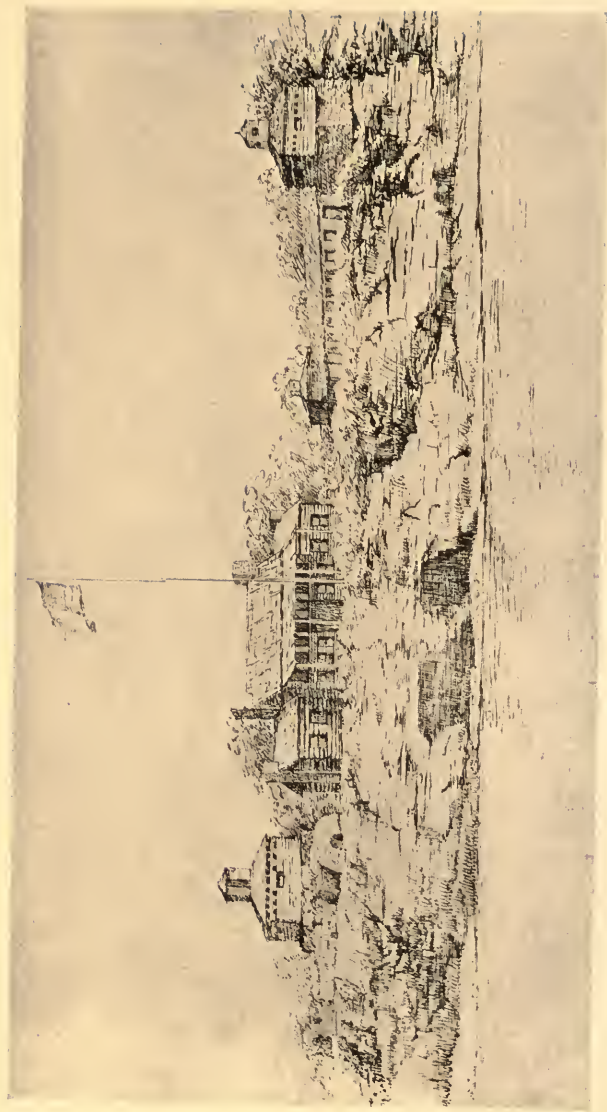




THE INDIAN TRIBES OF  
THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY AND  
REGION OF THE GREAT LAKES







VIEW OF FORT ARMSTRONG

# THE INDIAN TRIBES OF THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY AND REGION OF THE GREAT LAKES

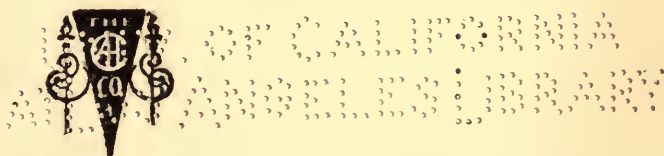
as described by Nicolas Perrot, French commandant in the Northwest; Bacqueville de la Potherie, French royal commissioner to Canada; Morrell Marston, American army officer; and Thomas Forsyth, United States agent at Fort Armstrong

Translated, edited, annotated, and with bibliography  
and index by

EMMA HELEN BLAIR

*With portraits, map, facsimiles, and views*

VOLUME II



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HISTORY OF THE SAVAGE PEOPLES who are allies of New France. By Claude Charles Le Roy, Bacqueville de la Potherie [from his *Histoire de l'Amérique septentrionale* (Paris, 1753), tome ii and iv].

*Continued and Completed from volume I*



## Chapter XVI

Some time afterward, three men were seen, running in great haste, and uttering the cries for the dead. As they approached the fort, they were heard to say that all the Miamis were dead; that the Iroquois had defeated them at Chigagon, to which place they had been summoned [by] some Frenchmen; and that those who were left intended to take revenge on the latter. They were brought into the fort, and pipes were given them to smoke; and gradually they regained their senses. After they had eaten a good meal, and had painted themselves with vermilion, they were questioned in regard to all the details of this news; now see in what manner the youngest of them spoke in addressing Perrot.

“When thou didst make a present this autumn to Apichagan, the chief of the Miamis, he himself set out the next day to notify all the Miamis and our people of what thou hadst told him; and he made them consent to follow thee, after he had secured the promise of all the men. Two Frenchmen had sent presents to the Miamis, to tell them that Onontio wished them to settle at Chekagou. Apichagan opposed this, and said that his people had already been slain at the river of Saint Joseph, when Monsieur de la Salle made them settle there. The Frenchmen have been the cause of the death of those whom thou lovest as thy own children; whom thou didst not induce to come to thy house, and whom thou didst warn only not to trouble themselves carrying

arms against those among whom thou wast going; and whom thou didst tell that if they went to Chigagon they would be eaten by the Iroquois. At that time he prevented his people from believing the Frenchmen, to whom he sent deputies a second time, to tell them not to look for the Miamis. The Frenchmen again sent some of their men, who declared to Apichagan on the part of Onontio that he would be abandoned if he did not obey Onontio's voice, which of course disquieted the chief. He said, nevertheless, 'Follow Metaminens; if my people do not put their trust in him, they will seek death. Follow him; it is he who gives us life and who has prevented our families from being involved in the same ruin with those who have been at Chigagon.' When the Miamis reached that place the Frenchmen told them to go hunting there; and our people began to regret that they had not followed Metaminens. They dispersed in all directions to carry on their hunting, and [then] returned to the fort which the Frenchmen had built, to ascertain what they required. Some families who could not reach the fort as the others did were surprised by an army of Iroquois; and in this encounter a chief of the Miamis was captured who, in his death-song, asked his enemies to spare his life, assuring them that if they would grant it, he would deliver up his own village to them; so they released him.

"Some hunters, belonging to those families who had not gone to Chigagon, on their way back to their cabins saw from afar a large encampment; they concluded that their people had been defeated, and fled to the fort to carry the news of this. The Miamis who were there consulted together whether they should resist an assault or take to flight. A Sokoki who was among them told them not to trust the French, who were friends of the Iro-

quois. The Miamis believed him, and fled in all directions. The Iroquois came to that place, under the guidance of that Miami chief who had promised to betray his village to them. They found there only four Frenchmen who came from the Islinois, whom they did not molest, the Miamis having deserted—and even the commander of the French, who had been afraid to remain there. The Iroquois followed at the heels of the people of the village, and captured in general all the women and children, except one woman, and some men who abandoned their families.”

The Ayoës came to the fort of the French [i.e., Perrot's], on their return from hunting beaver, and, not finding the commandant, who had gone to the Nadoüaissieux, they sent a chief to entreat him to go to the fort. Four Islinois met him on the way, who (although they were enemies of the Ayoës) came to ask him to send back four of their children, whom some Frenchmen held captive. The Ayoës had the peculiar trait that, far from doing ill to their enemies, they entertained them, and, weeping over them, entreated the Islinois to let them enjoy the advantages which they could look for from the French, without being molested by their tribesmen; and these Islinois were sent back to the Frenchmen, who were expecting the Nadoüaissieux. When the latter, who also were at war with the Islinois, perceived these envoys, they tried to fling themselves on the Islinois canoes in order to seize them; but the Frenchmen who were conducting them kept at a distance from the shore of the river, so as to avoid such a blunder. The other Frenchmen who were there for trade hastened toward their comrades; the affair was, however, settled, and four Nadoüaissieux took the Islinois upon their shoulders and carried them to the land, informing them that

they spared them out of consideration for the Frenchmen, to whom they were indebted for life. The defeat of the Miamis at Chigagon was an event to be keenly felt by all the peoples of those quarters; and messengers were sent to the bay to ascertain the particulars of it, and to get some news of the colony. The Freshmen reported that what had been said about it was true, and that a hundred savages—Miamis, Maskoutechs, Pouteoüatemis, and Outagamis—had pursued the Iroquois, hatchet in hand, with so much fury that they had slain a hundred of the enemy, recaptured half of their own people, and put to rout the Iroquois, who even would have been destroyed if the victors had continued to pursue them. The messengers said that the Miamis were at the bay, and that they had very badly treated Father Alloüet, a Jesuit, who had prompted their going to Chigagon, as they imputed to him the loss of their people.

Monsieur the Marquis de Denonville, who was at that time the governor-general, desired to avenge these people, in order to remove the opinion that they entertained that we had the design of sacrificing them to the Iroquois. He sent orders to the French commandant who was among the Outaoüaks to call all the tribes together and get them to join his army which was at Niagara, to the end that all might go against the Tsonnontouans.

The commandant of the west was also ordered to enlist the tribes who were in his district, mainly the Miamis. That officer, having put his affairs in order, made known to some Frenchmen whom he left to guard his fort the conduct that they were to observe during his absence, and proceeded to the [Miami] village that was down the Missisipi, in order to induce them to take up arms against the Iroquois; he traveled sixty leagues on the plains, without other guide than the fires and the

clouds of smoke that he saw. When he arrived among the Miamis he offered to them the club in behalf of Onontio, with several presents, and said to them: "The cries of your dead have been heard by your father Onontio, who, desiring to take pity on you, has resolved to sacrifice his young men in order to destroy the man-eater who has devoured you. He sends you his club, and tells you to smite unweariedly him who has snatched away your children. They pitch their tents outside of his kettle, crying to you, 'Avenge us! avenge us!' He must disgorge and vomit by force your flesh which is in his stomach, which he will not be able to digest—Onontio will not allow him leisure for that. If your children have been his dogs and slaves, his women must in their turn become ours." All the Miamis accepted the club,<sup>1</sup> and assured him that, since their father intended to assist them, they all would die for his interests.

This Frenchman, returning to his fort, perceived on the way so much smoke that he believed it was [made by] an army of our allies who were marching against the Nadoüaïssioux, who might while passing carry away his men; and that constrained him to travel by longer stages. Fortunately he met a Maskoutech chief, who, not having found him at the fort, had come to meet him, in order to inform him that the Outagamis, the Kika-

<sup>1</sup> "Every tribe in America used clubs, but after the adoption of more effectual weapons, as the bow and lance, clubs became in many cases merely a part of the costume, or were relegated to ceremonial, domestic, and special functions. There was great variety in the forms of this weapon or instrument. Most clubs were designed for warfare." The Siouan tribes, and some of the Plains tribes, used the club with a fixed stone head; the northern Sioux, the Sauk, Fox, and some other Algonquian tribes, a musket-shaped club; while a flat, curved club with a knobbed head (French, *casse-tête*) was used by some Sioux, and by the Chippewa, Menominee, and other timber Algonquians. "Clubs of this type are often set with spikes, lance-heads, knife-blades, or the like, and the elk-horn with sharpened prongs belongs to this class." — WALTER HOUGH, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

bous, the Maskoutechs, and all the peoples of the bay were to meet together in order to come and plunder his warehouses, in order to obtain [fire]arms and munitions for destroying the Nadoüaïssioux; and that they had resolved to break into the fort and kill all the Frenchmen, if the latter made the least objection to this. This news obliged him to go thither immediately. Three spies had left the place on the very day of his arrival, who had used the pretext of trading some beaver-skins; they reported at their camp that they had seen only six Frenchmen, and, the commandant not being there, that would be enough to persuade them to undertake the execution of their scheme. On the next day, two others of them came, who played the same part. The French had taken the precaution to place guns, all loaded, at the doors of the cabins. When the savages tried to enter any cabin, our men discovered the secret of making them find there men who had changed their garments to different ones. The savages asked, while speaking of one thing or another, how many Frenchmen were in the fort; and the reply was, that they numbered forty, and that we were expecting every moment those of our men who were on the other side of the river hunting buffalo. All those loaded guns gave them something to think about, and they were told that all these weapons were always ready in case people came to molest the French; and likewise that, as the latter were on a highway, they always kept vigilant watch, knowing that the savages were very reckless. They were told to bring to the fort a chief from each tribe, because the French had something to communicate to them; and that if any greater number of them came near the fort, the guns would be fired at them. Six chiefs of those tribes came, whose bows and arrows were taken away from them at the

gate. They were taken into the cabin of the commandant, who gave them [tobacco] to smoke, and regaled them. When they saw all those loaded guns, they asked him if he were afraid of his children; he answered them that he did not trouble himself much at such things, and that he was a man who could kill others. They replied to him, "It seems that thou art angry at us." The commandant answered: "I am not angry, although I have reason to be. The Spirit has informed me of your intention; you intend to plunder my goods and put me into the kettle, in order to advance against the Nadoü-aissieux. He has told me to keep on my guard, and that he will assist me if you affront me." Then they stood stock-still and acknowledged to him that it was true; but they said that he was a very indulgent father to them, and that they were going to break up all the plans of their young men. Perrot had them sleep in the fort that night. The next day, early in the morning, their army was seen, part of whom came to cry out that they wished to trade. The commandant, who had only fifteen men, seized these chiefs, and told them that he was going to have their heads broken if they did not make their warriors retire; and at the same time the bastions were manned. One of those chiefs climbed above the gate of the fort, and cried, "Go no farther, young men; you are dead; the spirits have warned Metaminens of your resolution." Some of them tried to advance, and he said to them, "If I go to you, I will break your heads;" and they all retreated. The lack of provisions harassed them, and the French took pity on them; they had at the time only provisions which were beginning to smell, but gave these to the savages, who divided the food among themselves. The commandant made them a present of two guns, two kettles, and some tobacco, in order to

close to them, he said, the gate by which they were going to enter the Nadoüaïssioux country, contending that they should thereafter turn their weapons against the Iroquois, and that they should avail themselves of Onontio's bow to shoot at his enemy, and of his club to lay violent hands on the Iroquois families. They represented to him that they would suffer greatly before they could reach the Iroquois country, as they had no gunpowder for hunting; and they entreated him to give them some in exchange for the few beaver-skins that were left in their hands. For this purpose the chiefs of each tribe were permitted to enter the fort, one after another. All being quite pacified, the French undertook to call together as many of the tribes as they could, to join the French army which was going against the Iroquois. The Pouteoüatemis, the Malhominis, and the Puans willingly offered their aid. The Outagamis, the Kikabous, and the Maskoutechs, who were not accustomed to travel in canoes, united with the Miamis, who were to proceed to the strait which separates Lake Herier [i.e., Erie] from the Lake of the Hurons, where there was a French fort, in which they were to find supplies for going to Niagara.

The Outagamis and the Maskoutechs, having held their war-feast, went in quest of another small village of the same tribe which was on their route; they wished to invite its warriors to join their party. At the time some Loups and Sokokis were there, intimate friends of the Iroquois; they dissuaded the people from this enterprise. They said that Onontio intended to put them into the kettle of the Iroquois, under pretext of avenging the deaths of the Miamis; that three thousand Frenchmen would indeed be at Niagara, but that there was reason to fear that all of them would unite together with the Iroquois, and that, having unanimously sworn the ruin

of the allies, they would unquestionably come to carry away the wives and children of the latter in all their villages. Those peoples blindly believed all that was said to them, and refused to expose themselves in a situation which seemed to them very dubious. The French pressed forward in their journey, and arrived at Michilimakinak, where they found the Outaouïaks, who had been unwilling to follow those who inhabited that quarter [i.e., the Sauteurs]; and of our men only a small number remained there, for the guard of the entrances [to the fort].

The Outaouïaks received the Pouteouatemis in military fashion; they assembled together behind a slope on which they made a camp. The fleet of the Pouteouatemis making its appearance at an eighth of a league from land, the Outaouïaks—naked, and having no other ornaments than their bows and arrows—marched abreast, and formed a sort of battalion. At a certain distance from the water they suddenly began to defile, uttering cries from time to time. The Pouteouatemis, on their part, set themselves in battle array, in order to make their landing. When the rear of the Outaouïaks was opposite the Pouteouatemis, whose ranks were close to one another, they paddled more slowly. When they were at a gunshot from the land, the Frenchmen who were joined with the Outaouïaks first fired a volley at them, without balls; the Outaouïaks followed them with loud shouts of “Sassakoue!” and the Pouteouatemis uttered theirs. Then on both sides they reloaded their arms, and a second volley was fired. Finally, when the landing must be made, the Outaouïaks rushed into the water, clubs in their hands; the Pouteouatemis at once darted ahead in their canoes, and came rushing on the others, carrying their clubs. Then no further order was

maintained; all was pell-mell, and the Outaouaks lifted up their canoes, which they bore to the land. Such was this reception, which on a very serious occasion would have cost much bloodshed. The Outaouaks conducted the chiefs into their cabins, where the guests were regaled.

Although they gave them a friendly welcome, the Outaouaks did not at first know what measures to take in order to turn aside these newcomers from their enterprise, to the end of excusing themselves from joining the latter. They entreated the guests to wait a few days, so that all might embark together. Meanwhile a canoe arrived, which brought instructions from Monsieur de Denonville for the march, and for the junction of the French army with that of the allies. This canoe had descried some Englishmen, who were coming to Michilimakinak in order to get possession of the commerce; they had imagined that the French were indiscrete enough to abandon during this time the most advantageous post of the entire trade.

Three hundred Frenchmen, commanded by an officer, went out to meet them. The Hurons, when informed of this proceeding, without seeming to take notice of it, went to join the English, with the intention of aiding them; the Outaouaks remained neutral. The Chief Nansouakouët alone took sides with the French, with thirty of his men. The Hurons, fearing that the Outaouaks, who were much more numerous than they in the village, would lay violent hands on their families, did not dare to fight as they had resolved; so that the French seized the English and their goods, and brought them to Michilimakinak. They had brought a large quantity of brandy, persuaded that this was the strongest attraction for gaining the regard of the savages—who drank a

great deal of it, with which the greater number became intoxicated so deeply, that several of them died. There was reason to fear that the rest of the brandy would be distributed to the Pouteouatemis; [in that case] there would have been a disorderly scene, which would have prevented the departure of all those savages, who longed for nothing more than to signalize themselves against the Iroquois. One of the Frenchmen who had brought them then said to them: "This is the time when you must show that you are courageous; you have listened implicitly to the voice of your father Onontio, who exhorts you to the war with the Iroquois, who wish to destroy you. Thus far you have not distinguished yourselves from the other tribes, who have made you believe whatever they have wished, and who have regarded you as much inferior to themselves. Now it is necessary that you make yourselves known, and the occasion is favorable for that. The Outaouaks are only seeking to delay matters, which will prevent them from seeing the destruction of the Iroquois. We are taking part in your glory, and we would be sorry if you were not witnesses of the battle which will be fought against the Tsonnontouans. You are fighting men; you can give the lie to your allies who are not so courageous as you; and be sure that Onontio will know very well how to recognize your valor. It is partly us Frenchmen, partly men of the Pouteouatemis and from the bay, and others of your own number, who urge you not to drink brandy; it fetters the strength of the man, and renders him spiritless and incapable of action. The Englishman is the father of the Iroquois. This liquor is perhaps poisoned; moreover, you have just seen how many Outaouaks are dead from [drinking] it."

The chiefs were well pleased with this discourse, and

inspired among their young men great aversion for the brandy. The Outaouaks, however, deferred their departure, and imperceptibly beguiled those peoples. They assembled them together without the knowledge of the Jesuit fathers and the French commandant. They presented to them a keg of brandy holding twenty-five quarts [*pots*], and said to them: "We all are brothers, who ought to form only one body, and possess but one and the same spirit. The French invite us to go to war against the Iroquois; they wish to use us in order to make us their slaves. After we have aided in destroying the enemy, the French will do with us what they do with their cattle, which they put to the plow and make them cultivate the land. Let us leave them to act alone; they will not succeed in defeating the Iroquois; this is the means for being always our own masters. Here is a keg of brandy, to persuade you regarding these propositions, which we hope that you will carry out."

The warriors rose, with great composure, without replying, having left to the Outaouaks the keg of brandy; and they went to find two others of the principal Frenchmen who had accompanied them, whom they informed of all that had occurred. The latter went to address them the next morning before light, and encouraged them to persist in their good sentiments. The Outaouaks continually returned to the charge; they again sent the keg of brandy to the Pouteouatemis, who were longing to drink from it—for one can say that it is the most delicious beverage with which they can be regaled—nevertheless, they did not dare to taste it. They went to find those Frenchmen, and related to them this new occurrence. The Frenchmen, annoyed at all these solicitations by the Outaouaks, entered the Pouteouatemi cabin in which the brandy was; and the savage

therein asked them what they wished the savages to do with it. The Frenchmen answered, while breaking open the keg with a hatchet, "Look here; this is what you ought to do with it. You must do the same with the Iroquois when you are in the fight; you must beat them with your clubs, you must slay them without sparing [even] the infants in the cradle. Put pitch on your canoes this morning; we are embarking, and we wait for no one." The Outaouaks, seeing that the canoes were ready, asked for a day's time in order to join the expedition; but our people took no notice of them. The fleet of the Pouteouatemis therefore set out, in good order, always having scouts out, who protected the advance. [From this point (top of page 205) to the top of page 209, is briefly told the campaign against the Iroquois, which is more fully related by Perrot in the *Mémoire*. — ED.]

The French voyageurs who had been among the allies came to Montreal in order to purchase there new merchandise; and at the same time the news came that the church of the [Jesuit] missionaries at the bay, and a part of their buildings, had been burned. There were some Frenchmen who met great losses in this fire; Sieur Perrot lost in it more than forty thousand francs' worth of beaver-skins.

The auxiliary troops, returning to their own country, made the report of their campaign; and they imparted a great idea of the valor of Onontio, who had forced the Iroquois themselves to set fire to their villages at the first news of his arrival. The Loups and Sokokis, who had given so bad an impression about the French to certain peoples, adroitly retreated from these warriors, in order not to be themselves treated like the Iroquois; they went by way of a small river which empties into the Missi-

sipi, and [thus] reached their native country. All those who had taken sides with them repented of having done so. One hundred Miamis set out with the deliberate intention of making amends for the fault that they had committed in not having taken part in the general march; they were sure that they would at least find, in a certain hunting-ground, some party of Iroquois weakened with hunger and misfortunes. They proceeded to the road going to Niagara, where they found the French garrison dead from hunger, except seven or eight persons; this mischance hindered them from going farther. They guarded this fort during the winter, until the surviving Frenchmen had been withdrawn from it.

Thirteen Maskoutechs, impatient to find out whether what the Loups and Sokokis had said to them also against the French were true, set out during the general march in order to obtain information as to the truth of that report; and they met three Miami slaves who, in the rout of the Iroquois, had made their escape. The Maskoutechs, returning with these women, found two Frenchmen who were coming from the Islinois, laden with beaver-skins; they slew these men, and burned their bodies, in order to hide their murder; they also killed the Miamis and burned them and carried away their scalps.<sup>2</sup> When they arrived at their own village, they

<sup>2</sup> The practice of scalping was not common to all the American tribes. "The custom was not general, and in most regions where found was not even ancient. The trophy did not include any part of the skull or even the whole scalp. The operation was not fatal. The scalp was not always evidence of the killing of an enemy, but was sometimes taken from a victim who was allowed to live. It was not always taken by the same warrior who had killed or wounded the victim. It was not always preserved by the victor. The warrior's honors were not measured by the number of his scalps. The scalp dance was performed, and the scalps carried therein, not by the men, but by the women." In earlier times, throughout most of America the trophy was the head itself. "The spread of the scalping practice over a great part of central and western United States was a direct result of the encouragement in the

uttered three cries for the dead, such as are usually made when they carry back [news of] some advantage gained over the enemy. They gave to their chiefs these three scalps, which they said were those of Iroquois, and two guns, which they did not acknowledge to be those of the Frenchmen. Those chiefs sent these things to the Miamis, who, in acknowledgment, gave them several presents. Other Frenchmen who came back from the Islinois recognized the guns of their comrades, and not having any news of the latter, accused the Miamis of having murdered them. The latter defended themselves, saying that the Maskoutechs had made them a present of the guns, with three Iroquois scalps. Then the Frenchmen made them profuse apologies for the suspicion that they had felt that the Miamis had caused the deaths of those two Frenchmen; and they supposed that their friends had fallen into the power of the Iroquois, whom the Maskoutechs had met on their way.

Monsieur the Marquis de Denonville, who had humiliated the most haughty and redoubtable tribe in all America, had no thought save to render happy the people whose government the king had entrusted to him; he was certain that the [Indian] trade could not be better maintained than by sending back to the Outaouaks all the voyageurs who had left [there] their property in order to go to Tsonnontouan. He also despatched forty Frenchmen to the Nadoüaissieux, the most remote tribe, who could not carry on trade with us as easily as could the other tribes; the Outagamis had boasted of excluding them from access to us. These last-mentioned Frenchmen, on their arrival at Michillimakinak, learned that

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shape of scalp bounties offered by the colonial and more recent governments, even down to within the last fifty years, the scalp itself being superior to the head as a trophy by reason of its lighter weight and greater adaptability to display and ornamentation." — JAMES MOONEY, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

the Hurons had defeated a party of forty Iroquois, the greater number of whom they had captured, but had spared their lives. All the peoples of that region were greatly alarmed at an attack which the Outagamis had made on the Sauteurs. The former people, having learned that the French were at the Bay of Puans, sent three deputies to Monsieur du Luth,<sup>3</sup> a captain of the troops, to entreat him to come among them. He answered them that he would not concern himself about them, or settle their quarrels with the Sauteurs; that the French were going to pass through their river, and that they had three hundred loaded guns to fire at them if they tried to place the least obstacle in his way. They tried to justify themselves, by saying that their allies, jealous of them, had made every effort to render them odious to the French nation. They said that it was true that some war-party of their young men, going to fight against the Nadoüaissieux, had encountered on the enemy's territory some Sauteurs, from whom they had taken three girls and a young man; that when the people of the bay asked them for these captives they had not been able to refuse them, because the chiefs were waiting for the Frenchman in order to send back the captives to him. That commandant told them that he would not make known his opinions to them, since they had so often deceived him; and he continued his journey toward the Nadoüaissieux. A little while afterward he saw a canoe with five men, who came paddling as hard as they could. They were the chiefs of the Outagamis, who

<sup>3</sup> Daniel Greysolon du Luth (Lhut) was especially prominent among North-western explorers. An officer in the army of France, he came to Canada about 1676; two years later, he conducted a French expedition into the Sioux country. He spent nearly ten years in explorations (mainly beyond Lake Superior) and fur-trading; he was for a time commandant of the Northwest. In 1689, he had returned to the St. Lawrence; he died in 1710. The city of Duluth, Minn., was named for him. — ED.

came alongside of his boat with expressions so full of grief that he could not forbear from going to their village; the reply that he had made to the three deputies had caused so great consternation that they were inconsolable at it. It was to their interest to stand well in the opinion of the French, from whom they were receiving all possible assistance; and because they could only expect, as soon as the [French] trade with them had ceased, to become the objects of opprobrium and the victims of their neighbors. The commandant entered the cabin of the chief, who had a deer placed in the kettle; when it boiled, the kettle and some of the raw meat were placed before him, to regale all the Frenchmen. The commandant disdained to taste it, because this meat, he said, did not suit him, and when the Outagamis became reasonable he would have some of it. They understood very well the meaning of this compliment. They immediately brought in the three girls and the young Sautteur. The chief began to speak, saying: "See how the Outagami can be reasonable, and be minded as he is therein. He spits out the meat which he had intended to eat, for he has remembered that thou hadst forbidden it to him; and while it is between his teeth he spits it out, and entreats thee to send it back to the place where he seized it." The Frenchman told him that they had done well in preserving the captives; that he remembered the club that had been given to them in behalf of their father Onontio, and that in giving it he had told them that hereafter they should use it only against the Iroquois. He told them that they themselves had assured him that they would join the Frenchmen at *Dé-troit*; but that now they were using the club on his own body, and maltreating the families of the Sautteurs who had gone with the French to war. He warned them

to be no longer foolish and wild; and said that he would once more settle this business. He told them to remain quiet, and said that the Sauteurs would obey him, since they had not killed any one, and were restoring the people of the Outagamis. He directed the latter to hunt beavers, and told them that, if they wished to be protected by Onontio, they must apply themselves to making war against the Iroquois only. Some Frenchmen were left with them to maintain the trade, and the rest embarked.

The Pouteouatemis cut across the country, to reach more quickly a portage<sup>4</sup> which lies between a river that goes down to the bay, and that of Ouiskonch, which falls into the Missisipi (about the forty-third degree of latitude), in order to receive there these Frenchmen. When the latter were twelve leagues from the portage, they were stopped by the ice-floes. The Pouteouatemis, impatient to find out what had happened to them, came to meet them, and found them in a series of ice-floes from which they had great difficulty in extricating themselves; and immediately those savages sent to their village to call out two hundred men, for the purpose of carrying all the merchandise over to the shore of the Ouiskonch River, which was no longer covered with ice. The French then went to the Nadoüaissieux country, ascending the Missisipi. The Sauteurs were notified that the French had taken away their daughters from the hands of the Outagamis; and four of them came to the bay, where the girls were, to get them, and displayed to the Frenchmen all possible gratitude; they had reason

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<sup>4</sup> Alluding to the noted Fox-Wisconsin portage, long famous in the early history of exploration and trade in the Northwest; there, in the rainy season, the waters of those two great rivers flowed into each other, and the comparatively easy "carry" between them made those streams the natural (and the only practicable) route of travel between Green Bay and the Mississippi. At that point of transfer has arisen the modern city of Portage. — Ed.

to be highly pleased. But a very sad misfortune again befell them; this was, that when they had almost reached home some Outagamis who were prowling about attacked them, without knowing who they were. Terror overcame them, and caused them to abandon the three girls. The Outagamis did not dare to conduct the girls to the Sauteurs, for fear of being devoured; and, unwilling to expose them, alone, to losing their way in the woods, they carried the girls home with them, considering them as free.

As soon as the Nadoüaissieux saw that the rivers were navigable they went down to the post of the Frenchmen, and carried back the commandant to their village, where he was received with pomp, after their fashion. He was carried on a robe of beaver-skins, accompanied by a great retinue of people who carried each a calumet, singing the songs of alliance and of the calumet. He was carried about the village, and led into the cabin of the chief. As those peoples have the knack of weeping and of laughing when they choose, several of them immediately came to weep over his head, with the same tenderness which the Ayoës showed to him at the first time when he went among them.<sup>5</sup> However, these tears do not enervate their spirits, and they are very good warriors; they even have the reputation of being the bravest in all those regions. They are at war with all the tribes, excepting X

<sup>5</sup> Note Cadillac's remarks concerning the Sioux, in his "Relation of Missilimakinak," section v: "Indeed, it seldom happens that a Sioux is taken alive; because, as soon as they see that they can no longer resist, they kill themselves, considering that they are not worthy to live when once bound, vanquished, and made slaves. It is rather surprising that people so brave and warlike as these should nevertheless be able to shed tears at will, and so abundantly that it can hardly be imagined. I think that it could not be believed without being seen; for they are sometimes observed to laugh, sing, and amuse themselves, when, at the same time, one would say that their eyes are like gutters filled by a heavy shower; and, as soon as they have wept, they again become as joyful as before, whether their joy be real or false." — Ed.

the Sauteurs and the Ayoës; and even these last named very often have disputes with them. Hardly does the day begin when the Nadoüaïssioux bathe in their river, and they even do the same with their children in swaddling-clothes; their reason is, that thus they gradually accustom themselves to be in readiness at the least alarm. They are of tall stature, and their women are extremely ugly; they regard the latter as slaves. The men are, moreover, jealous and very susceptible to suspicions; from this arise many quarrels, and the greater part of the time they get into general fights among themselves, which are not quieted until after much bloodshed. They are very adroit in [managing] their canoes; they fight even to the death when they are surrounded by their enemies, and when they have an opportunity to make their escape they are very agile. Their country is a labyrinth of marshes, which in summer protects them from molestation by their enemies; if one [journeying] by canoe is entangled in it, he cannot find his way; to go to their village, one must be a Nadoüaïssioux, or have long experience in that country, in order to reach his destination. The Hurons have reason to remember an exceedingly pleasant adventure which befell a hundred of their warriors, who had gone to wage war on those people. These Hurons, being embarrassed in a marsh, were discovered; they saw the Nadoüaïssioux, who surrounded them, and hid themselves as best they could in the rushes, leaving only their heads above the water, so that they could breathe. The Nadoüaïssioux, not knowing what had become of them, stretched beaver-nets on the strips of land which separated their marshes, and to these attached little bells. The Hurons, imagining that the night-time would be very favorable for extricating themselves from this situation, found themselves en-

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tangled among all these nets. The Nadoüaissioux, who were in ambush, heard the sound of the bells and attacked the Hurons, of whom none could save himself except one, whom they sent back to his own country to carry the news of the affair. They are very lustful. They live on wild oats, which is very abundant in their marshes. Their country has also the utmost abundance of beavers. The Kristinaux, who also are accustomed to navigation, and their other enemies often compel them to take refuge in places where they have no other food than acorns, roots, and the bark of trees.

One of their chiefs, seeing that very few French were left in the fort (which is near them) when all the tribes marched against the Iroquois, raised a party of one hundred warriors in order to plunder the fort. This Frenchman displayed, on his return, the anger that he felt because they had acted so badly during his absence. The [other] chiefs had not been concerned in that plan, and came very near killing that chief; he was regarded, at least after that, with great contempt. When the renewal of the alliance was made the Frenchmen went back to their fort. There was one of them who complained, on going away, that a box of merchandise had been stolen from him; it was quite difficult to ascertain who had committed this theft, and recourse was had to a very odd stratagem. The commandant told one of his men to pretend to get some water in a cup in which he had put some brandy. As it was evident that there was no [other] means of recovering the box, they were threatened with the burning and drying up the waters in their marshes; and to strengthen the effect of these menaces, that brandy was set on fire. They were so terrified that they imagined that everything was going to destruction; the merchandise was recovered, and then the French

returned to their fort. The Outagamis who had changed their village [site] established themselves on the Mississippi after they separated (at the portages of the River Ouiskonch) from the Frenchmen, who had taken the route to the Nadoüaïssioux.

The chief came to find the French commandant, in order to ask him to negotiate a peace with the Nadoüaïssioux. Some of the latter tribe came to trade their peltries at the French fort, where they saw this chief, whom they recognized as an Outagami. The Nadoüaïssioux seemed surprised at this encounter; and at the same time they formed the idea (but without showing it) that the French were forming some evil plot against their tribe. The commandant reassured them, and, presenting to them the calumet, said that this was the chief of the Outagamis, whom the French regarded as their brother ever since his tribe had been discovered; and that this chief ought not to be an object of suspicion, since he had even come to propose peace with them through the mediation of the French. "Smoke," said this Frenchman, "my calumet; it is the breast with which Onontio suckles his children." The Nadoüaïssioux asked him to have this chief smoke, and he did so; but, although the calumet is the symbol of union and reconciliation, the Outagami did not fail to experience embarrassment in this situation. He afterward declared that he did not feel very safe at that time. When he had smoked, the Nadoüaïssioux did the same; but they would not come to any decision, because, as they were not chiefs, they must notify their captains of this matter. They nevertheless expressed to him their regret that his tribe had been so easily influenced by the solicitations of the Sauteurs, who had corrupted them with presents, and who had caused the rupture of the peace which they

had concluded. This negotiation could not be finished on account of the speedy departure of the French, who had orders to return to the colony. Just as they set out, the chiefs of the Nadoüaïssioux arrived, and brought the calumet of peace—which would have been concluded if our Frenchmen at their departure had dared to entrust to them the chief of the Outagamis. The Outagamis had always kept the three Sauteur girls of whom I have already spoken. Their dread of losing entirely the good graces of the French—who were greatly displeased at the hostilities which that tribe had committed against the Sauteurs—obliged them to forestall the latter by the relation which they made of all the circumstances attending the sojourn [among them] of the Sauteurs' daughters. It was evident that they were not to blame, and they were charged to convey the girls back to their own people.

The Iroquois, having been extremely harassed at Tsonnontouan by Monsieur the Marquis de Denonville, entreated the English to negotiate peace for them with him; and it was for the interest of that nation that no one should disturb the tranquillity of their neighbors. As peace still prevailed throughout Europe, the English did not dare to declare themselves in favor of the Iroquois; they felt, however, very deeply the manner in which the French treated those savages, without daring to take their part or support them. The French commander, who had in view only the tranquillity of his allies and of the peoples under his government, informed the English that he would willingly grant peace to the Iroquois on condition that his allies [also] should be included in it. He despatched his orders in every direction to the end that the club should be hung up, and that all the war-parties that might be raised against the

Iroquois should be halted. Besides this, presents were sent to all the tribes, as a pledge of the good-will which the French displayed toward them in a condition of affairs which so greatly concerned their interests. The Outaouaks were so incensed against the Iroquois that they took no notice of these orders, and carried on war against them more than ever. The Islinois were more discreet, for as soon as they received the orders of Onontio they tied up the hatchet; and as they were not willing to remain thus in inaction they marched, to the number of twelve hundred warriors, against the Ozages and the Accances<sup>15</sup> (who are in the lower Missisipi country), and carried away captive the people of a village there. The neighboring peoples, having been apprised of this raid, united together and attacked the Islinois with such spirit that the latter were compelled to retreat with loss. This repulse was very detrimental to them in the course of time. The Outaouaks, who had followed their own caprice without consulting the French commandants who were at Michilimakinak, brought back some captives; and at night the cries for the dead were heard abroad. The next day the smoke in their camp was seen at the island of Michilimakinak; and they sent a canoe to inform the village of the blow that they had just struck. The Jesuit fathers hastened thither, in

<sup>15</sup> The Osage are a Siouan tribe, one of the Dhegiha group, and are very closely related to the Kansa. According to their traditions, these tribes in their migration westward, "divided at the mouth of Osage River, the Osage moving up that stream and the Omaha and Ponca crossing Missouri River and proceeding northward, while the Kansa ascended the Missouri on the south side to Kansas River." — *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

Dorsey in his "Migrations of the Siouan Tribes" (*Amer. Naturalist*, vol. xx, 211-222) says that the entire Dhegiha group lived together (before their separation above noted), near the Ohio River, and were called "Arkansa" by the Illinois tribes. "Accances" of our text is the same as Akansa, Akansea, Kanza, etc., of the early writers, especially Marquette; but these refer to the Quapaw, another tribe of the above group. They, with the Osage and Kansa, are now on reservations in (the former) Indian Territory. — Ed.

order to try to secure for the slaves exemption from the volley of blows with clubs to which the captives were usually treated on their arrival; but all their solicitations could not move the Outaouaks, and even served only to exasperate them. The canoes, which were close together, made their appearance; there was only one man paddling in each, while all the warriors responded to the songs of the slaves,<sup>16</sup> who stood upright, each hav-

<sup>16</sup> "It may be doubted whether slavery, though so widespread as to have been almost universal, existed anywhere among very primitive peoples, since society must reach a certain state of organization before it can find lodgment. It appears, however, among peoples whose status is far below that of civilization." The region of the northwest coast "formed the stronghold of the institution. As we pass to the eastward the practice of slavery becomes modified, and finally its place is taken by a very different custom. . . Investigation of slavery among the tribes of the great plains and the Atlantic slope is difficult. Scattered through early histories are references to the subject, but such accounts are usually devoid of details, and the context often proves them to be based on erroneous conceptions. . . The early French and Spanish histories, it is true, abound in allusions to Indian slaves, even specifying the tribes from which they were taken; but the terms 'slave' and 'prisoner' were used interchangeably in almost every such instance. . . With the exception of the area above mentioned [the N.W. coast], traces of true slavery are wanting throughout the region north of Mexico. In its place is found another institution that has been often mistaken for it. Among the North American Indians a state of periodic intertribal warfare seems to have existed. . . In consequence of such warfare tribes dwindled through the loss of men, women, and children killed or taken captive. Natural increase was not sufficient to make good such losses; for, while Indian women were prolific, the loss of children by disease, especially in early infancy, was very great. Hence arose the institution of adoption. Men, women, and children, especially the two latter classes, were everywhere considered the chief spoils of war. When men enough had been tortured and killed to glut the savage passions of the conquerors, the rest of the captives were adopted, after certain preliminaries, into the several gentes, each newly adopted member taking the place of a lost husband, wife, son, or daughter, and being invested with the latter's rights, privileges, and duties. It was indeed a common practice, too, for small parties to go out for the avowed purpose of taking a captive to be adopted in the place of a deceased member of the family. John Tanner, a white boy thus captured and adopted by the Chippewa, wrote a narrative of his Indian life that is a mine of valuable and interesting information. Adoption also occasionally took place on a large scale, as when the Tuscarora were formally adopted as kindred by the Seneca, and thus secured a place in the Iroquois League; or when, after the Pequot War, part of the surviving Pequot were incorporated into the Narraganset tribe by some form of adoption, and part into the Mo-

ing a wand in his hand. There were special marks on each, to indicate those who had captured him. Gradually they approached the shore, with measured advance. When they were near the land the chief of the party rose in his canoe and harangued all the old men, who were waiting for the warriors at the edge of the water in order to receive them; and having made a recital to them of his campaign he told them that he placed in their hands the captives whom he had taken. An old man on the shore responded, and congratulated them in

hegan." Under certain conditions, the practice of adopting prisoners of war might gradually be transformed into slavery, and it is possible that slaveholding tribes may have substituted adoption; the latter seems to have prevailed wherever slavery did not exist. Those who were actually slaves had no social status in the tribe, whether they had been captured in war or purchased; but "the adopted person was in every respect the peer of his fellow-tribesmen," and had the same opportunity for advancement or office that would have belonged to the person in whose place he was adopted — unless he were a poor hunter or a coward, in which case he was despised and ill-treated. "It was the usual custom to depose the coward from man's estate, and, in native metaphor, to 'make a woman' of him. Such persons associated ever after with the women, and aided them in their tasks." Female captives might become the legal wives of men in their captors' tribe; but such women were probably often the objects of jealousy in the husband's other wives. White captives were often adopted into Indian tribes, but after the beginning of the border wars were most often held for ransom, or sometimes sold in European settlements for a cash payment. "The practice of redeeming captives was favored by the missionaries and settlers with a view to mitigating the hardships of Indian warfare. The spread of Indian slavery among the tribes of the central region was in part due to the efforts of the French missionaries to induce their red allies to substitute a mild condition of servitude for their accustomed practice of indiscriminate massacre, torture, and cannibalism (see Dunn's *Indiana*; 1905)." White captives were always ready to escape, and were welcomed back by their friends, "whereas in the case of the Indian, adoption severed all former social and tribal ties. The adopted Indian warrior was forever debarred from returning to his own people, by whom he would not have been received. His fate was thenceforth inextricably interwoven with that of his new kinsmen." Runaway negroes early came into the possession of the southern tribes, and thus were slaves; but they often married the Indians and were otherwise treated like members of the tribe. Europeans made a practice of enslaving or selling into slavery captive Indians, many of whom were shipped to the West Indies. "In the early days of the colonies the enslavement of Indians by settlers seems to have been general." — H. W. HENSHAW, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

most complaisant terms. Finally the warriors stepped ashore, all naked, abandoning to pillage, according to their custom, all their booty. An old man came, at the head of nine men, to conduct the captives to a place at one side; there were five old men and four youths. The women and the children immediately ranged themselves in rows, very much as is done when some soldier is flogged through the lines. The young captives, who were very agile, quickly passed through; but the old men were so hardly used that they bled profusely. The former were awarded to masters, who spared their lives; but the old men were condemned to the flames. (They were placed on the Manilion, which is the place where the captives are burned, until the chiefs had decided to which tribe they should be handed over.) The Jesuit fathers and the commandants were greatly embarrassed, in so delicate a situation; for they feared that the five Iroquois tribes would complain of the little care which the French took of their people at the very time when there was discussion of a general peace. They sent a large collar of porcelain to redeem the captives; the Outaouaks insolently replied that they would be masters of their own actions, without depending on any one whatsoever. Sieur Perrot, who was at Michilimakinak with the three Sauter girls, had a strong ascendancy over the minds of those peoples; and he was called upon to make in person the demand for the captives. He went to the cabin of their council of war, with a collar, accompanied by those persons who had presented the first one. He passed in front of the Manilion, on which the prisoners, who awaited their fate, were singing; he made them sit down, and told them to cease their songs. Some Outaouaks roughly ordered them to continue; but Perrot replied to these that he intended that the captives

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should be silent, and he actually silenced their guards, telling the slaves that soon he would be the master of their bodies. He entered the council, where he found all the old men, who had already pronounced sentence; one was to be burned at the Bay of Puans, the second at the Saut, and the three others at Michilimakinak. Perrot was not disconcerted by that; he hung his porcelain collar to a pole when he entered, and addressed them nearly in this manner:

"I come to cut the cords on the dogs; I am not willing that they should be eaten. I have pity on them, since my father Onontio takes pity on them, and even has commanded me to do so. You Outaouaks are like bears who have been tamed; when one gives them a little freedom, they will no longer recognize those who have reared them. You no longer remember the protection of Onontio, without which you would not possess any country; I am maintaining you in it, and you are living in peace. When he asks from you a few tokens of obedience, you wish to lord it over him, and to eat the flesh of those people, whom he will not abandon to you. Take care lest you are unable to swallow them, and lest Onontio snatch them by force from between your teeth. I speak to you as a brother; and I think that I am taking pity on your children when I cut the bonds of your captives."

This discourse did not seem very compelling for obtaining a favor of this sort; nevertheless, it had all the success that one could desire. Indeed, one of the chiefs began to speak, and said: "See, it is the master of the land who speaks; his canoe is always full of captives whom he sets free, and how can we refuse him?" They sent word immediately to bring the captives, to whom they granted life in open council.

The liberty which these five old men came to enjoy

was a result of chance, or rather of caprice. One must be very politic in order to manage those peoples, who so easily stray from their duty; they should not be flattered much, and likewise should not be reduced to despair. They are managed only by solid and convincing arguments, which must be gently placed before them, but without sparing those people when they are in the wrong; but it is necessary to keep them up with hopes, making them understand that they will be rewarded when they have deserved it.

As all the tribes were to send deputies to Montreal, to be present at the general peace, the Outaouaks thought it opportune to send to Monsieur de Denonville two of those liberated captives, to the end that so authentic an example of their generosity might shine in the general council. They desired that Perrot should let the captives be seen beforehand in their own country, in order thus to induce the Five Nations to commit no further act of hostility against them, but to be very cautious to use this means without the order of the general. He told them that he did not know of any open door among the Iroquois except that indicated by the ordinary road, which was the only one by which he could enter; and that ever since he had had access to the cabin of Onontio, and had warmed himself at his fire, he would go, if Onontio wished to open the door of the Iroquois, to carry his message to all of his villages if he should command him to do so. The Outaouaks were pleased with these arguments; they recommended to him the interests of their tribe, and entreated him to be their spokesman in the general council. They gave him *Petite Racine* [i.e., "Little Root"], one of their chiefs, who had orders only to make a report of all the deliberations; and they assured him that, if unfortunately he were killed on the

journey through the Iroquois country, they would avenge his death, and that they would never consent to a peace until they had first sacrificed to his spirit many of the Iroquois families. This was in truth the most convincing proof of the esteem which they felt for him. But the affairs of the colony entirely changed their aspect; if the most powerful states are sometimes subject to revolutions, we say that distant countries, [even] the most stable, are also exposed to cruel catastrophes. Indeed Canada, which had never been so flourishing, suddenly found itself, so to speak, the prey of its enemies. All the tribes who heard the French name mentioned wished only for means of forming alliance with our nation; and those who were already known to us found that it was very agreeable to be under our protection. On the other hand, its enemies found themselves humiliated in the sight of an infinite number of peoples. Even the English, affected by the disaster to their friends, in some sort implored the good graces of him who had chastised the latter. Nothing, therefore, was more glorious for the Marquis de Denonville, but nothing was more touching than the occasion when he beheld utter desolation in the center of his government. It was then that the Iroquois came suddenly to the island of Montreal, to the number of fifteen hundred warriors; they put to the sword all that they encountered in the space of seven leagues.<sup>17</sup> They rendered themselves

<sup>17</sup> This refers to the sudden raid made by the Iroquois against the island of Montreal in 1689; on Aug. 25 of that year 1,500 of those savages surprised the village of Lachine, near Montreal, and slew or took captive all its inhabitants; and thence they ravaged the entire island with fire and sword. This fearful disaster caused terror in all the French settlements, and made many of the friendly tribes waver in their allegiance to France; but in the same year Count de Frontenac was sent to Canada for a second term as governor, and his able rule soon restored peace and safety. This Iroquois raid was doubtless caused by resentment on the part of the Five Nations at Denonville's punitive expedition into their country in 1687, and still more by his treacherous seizure

masters of the open country by using the cover of the woods; and no person could set foot on the land along the river who was not captured or killed. They spread themselves on every side with the same rapidity as does a torrent. Nothing could resist the fury of those barbarians, no matter what action was taken to furnish aid to those whom our people saw carried away [into captivity], or to resist the various parties of the enemy. The French were compelled to shut themselves at once within two wretched little forts; and if the Flemings had not warned them to be very careful to remain close to the forts it may be said that the enemy would have made an end of them with the same facility that they did of all the settlements that they ravaged. The open country was laid waste; the ground was everywhere covered with corpses, and the Iroquois carried away six-score captives, most of whom were burned; but these are misfortunes which ought not to cause the least damage to the glory of a general. It is not surprising that the savages came to make incursions and raids into so vast a region. The skill of these peoples is, to avoid combats in open country, because they do not know how to offer battle or make evolutions therein; their manner of conducting battles is altogether different from that of Europe. The forests are the most secure retreats, in which they fight advantageously; for it is agreed that these fifteen hundred warriors would have cut to pieces more than six thousand men, if the latter should advance into the mountainous country where the savages were. There are no troops of the sort that are in Europe who could succeed in such an enterprise, not only in equal but even in far superior numbers.

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of a number of their chiefs, whom he sent to work on the galleys in France — an act which violated the law of nations even the most primitive, and was both dastardly and cruel. — Ed.

## Chapter XVII

La Petite Racine ["Little Root"], who had come [to Montreal] on behalf of his tribe to be a witness of all that should take place in the general peace council, found an altogether extraordinary change in the condition of affairs; he traded the peltries that he had brought down, and promptly returned home. Monsieur Denonville despatched with him a canoe, by which he sent his orders to Monsieur de la Durantaye, commandant at Michilimakinak. This chief, on his return, caused universal alarm. The Outaouaks informed all the tribes of the devastation that had been inflicted upon the French, and entreated all the chiefs to come to Michilimakinak, that they might consult together upon the measures that ought to be taken regarding the wretched condition into which they were going to be plunged. They resolved in their general council to send to Tsonnontouan some deputies, with two of those Iroquois old men whom they had set free, in order to assure the Iroquois that they would have no further connection with the French, and that they desired to maintain with the Iroquois a close alliance.

The Hurons feigned not to join in the revolt of the Outaouaks; the policy of those peoples is so shrewd that it is difficult to penetrate its secrets. When they undertake any enterprise of importance against a nation whom they fear, especially against the French, they seem to form two parties—one conspiring for and the other opposing it; if the former succeed in their projects, the latter approve and sustain what has been done; if their designs are thwarted, they retire to the other side. Accordingly, they always attain their objects. But such was not the case in this emergency; they were so terrified

by La Petite Racine's report that neither the Jesuits nor the commandant could pacify those people – who reproached them, with the most atrocious insults, saying that the French had abused them. Matters reached so pitiable a condition that Monsieur de la Durantaye had need of all his experience and good management to keep his fort and maintain the interests of the colony – an undertaking that any other man would have abandoned; for the savages are fickle, take umbrage at everything, are time-serving, and are seldom friends except as caprice and self-interest induce them to act as such; it is necessary to take them on their weak side, and to profit by certain moments when one can penetrate their designs.

Soon afterward, Monsieur the Marquis de Denonville was recalled to court, his majesty having appointed him sub-governor to Monsieur the Duke of Bourgogne [i.e., Burgundy]. Monsieur the Count de Frontenac succeeded him, and arrived in Canada at the end of October, 1689. Monsieur de la Durantaye, who had remained at Michilimakinak, despatched a canoe to the new governor, to acquaint him with all the movements of the Outaouaks, and, as he held only a temporary command in the post which he was occupying, Monsieur de Frontenac sent Monsieur de Louvigni to relieve him. That governor was of opinion, at the outset, that it was desirable to make known his arrival to all the tribes; Perrot was the man whom he selected for that purpose; he ordered him, at the same time, to make every effort to pacify the troubles that the Outaouaks might have occasioned in those regions. He was accordingly despatched with Monsieur de Louvigni, who cut to pieces, at fifty leagues from Montreal, a party of sixty Iroquois; three of these he sent as prisoners to Monsieur de Frontenac,

and another he took with him. He also carried away many scalps, in order to show them to the Outaouaks, in the hope of bringing about a reconciliation with them; but those peoples had already secured the start of him, lest they should draw upon themselves the indignation of the Iroquois. On the route the French learned, through the Missisakis, that La Petite Racine had gone as ambassador to the Iroquois with two chiefs; that nothing had been heard about them since, except that it was said that one of them was yet to depart. This news induced Monsieur de Louvigni to send Perrot with two canoes to Michilimakinak, to inform the French of his arrival. As soon as he came in sight of the place, he displayed the white flag, and his men uttered loud shouts of "Vive le Roi!" The French judged, by that, that some good news had come from Montreal. The Outaouaks ran to the edge of the shore, not in the least understanding all these outcries; as they were thoroughly persuaded that our affairs were in very bad condition, they were so politic as to say that they would receive in warlike fashion the French who were on the way. They were warned that our usages were different from theirs; we were unwilling that they should swarm into our canoes to pillage them, as is their custom in regard to nations who come back victorious from any military expedition, abandoning whatever is in their canoes; we preferred that they should be content with receiving presents. Warning was sent to Monsieur de Louvigni that he would be received in military array, with all the Frenchmen whom he was bringing; all sorts of precautions were taken lest we should be duped by those peoples, who were capable of laying violent hands on us when we were least expecting such action. The canoes came into view, at their head the one in which was the

Iroquois slave; according to custom, he was made to sing, all the time standing upright. The Nepiciriniens who had accompanied the Frenchmen responded with them, keeping time, by loud shouts of "Sassakouel!" followed by volleys of musketry. A hundred Frenchmen of Michilimakinak were stationed, under arms, on the water's edge at the foot of their village; they had only powder in their guns, but had taken the precaution to place bullets in their mouths. The fleet, which proceeded in regular array, as if it were going to make a descent on an enemy's country, gradually came near. When the canoes neared the village of the Outaouaks,<sup>18</sup> they halted, and the Iroquois was made to sing; a volley of musket-shots, to which the Outaouaks responded, accompanied his song. The fleet crossed, in nearly a straight line, to the French village, but did not at once come to land. The Outaouaks hastened, all in battle array, to the landing-place, while the men in the canoes replied to the prisoner's songs with loud yells and firing of guns, as also did the French of Michilimakinak. At last, when it was necessary to go on shore, Monsieur de Louvigni had his men load their guns with ball, and disembark with weapons ready; the Outaouaks stood at a little distance on the shore, without making any further demonstration.

The Hurons—who, although they have been at all times very unreliable, had seemed greatly attached to our interests amid the general conspiracy of the Outaouaks—demanded the slave, in order to have him burned;<sup>19</sup> the other tribes were jealous of that prefer-

<sup>18</sup> The French post of Michilimackinac then stood on the mainland, at the site of the present St. Ignace. There were three separate villages, those of the French, Hurons, and Ottawas. A detailed map, showing these, is found in La Hontan's *Voyages* (ed. 1741, Amsterdam, tome i, 156); this is reproduced in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. xvi, 136.—Ed.

<sup>19</sup> "The treatment accorded captives was governed by those limited ethical

ence. The Huron chiefs, who were very politic, after many deliberations warned their people not to put him in the kettle; their object in this was to render them-

concepts which went hand in hand with clan, gentile, and other consanguineal organizations of Indian society. From the members of his own consanguineal group, or what was considered such, certain ethical duties were exacted of an Indian which could not be neglected without destroying the fabric of society or outlawing the transgressor. Toward other clans, gentes, or bands of the same tribe his actions were also governed by well recognized customs and usages which had grown up during ages of intercourse; but with remote bands or tribes good relations were assured only by some formal peace-making ceremony. A peace of this kind was very tenuous, however, especially where there had been a long-standing feud, and might be broken in an instant. Toward a person belonging to some tribe with which there was neither war nor peace, the attitude was governed largely by the interest of the moment. . . . If the stranger belonged to a clan or gens represented in the tribe he was among, the members of that clan or gens usually greeted him as a brother and extended their protection over him. Another defense for the stranger was—what with civilized people is one of the best guaranties against war—the fear of disturbing or deflecting trade. . . . If nothing were to be had from the stranger, he might be entirely ignored. And, finally, the existence of a higher ethical feeling toward strangers, even when there was apparently no self-interest to be served in hospitality, is often in evidence. . . . At the same time the attitude assumed toward a person thrown among Indians too far from his own people to be protected by any ulterior hopes or fears on the part of his captors was usually that of master to slave. . . . The majority of captives, however, were those taken in war. These were considered to have forfeited their lives and to have been actually dead as to their previous existence. It was often thought that the captive's supernatural helper had been destroyed or made to submit to that of the captor, though where not put to death with torture to satisfy the victor's desire for revenge and to give the captive an opportunity to show his fortitude, he might in a way be reborn by undergoing a form of adoption. It is learned from the numerous accounts of white persons who had been taken by Indians that the principal hardships they endured were due to the rapid movements of their captors in order to escape pursuers, and the continual threats to which they were subjected, threats which were, however, seldom carried out; and a certain amount of consideration was often shown toward captive women and children. "It is worthy of remark that the honor of a white woman was almost always respected by her captors among the tribes east of the Mississippi; but west of that limit, on the plains, in the Columbia River region, and in the southwest, the contrary was often the case." The disposal of the captives taken by war-parties varied in many ways. Running the gauntlet, dancing for the entertainment of their captors, tortures of various kinds, and often burning at the stake (sometimes accompanied by cannibalism), were among the methods of their reception in the enemy's country; but the majority were regarded and treated as slaves by their captors, being sometimes

selves acceptable to the Iroquois, in case peace should be made with that people, by the distinguished service which they would have rendered to one of their chiefs by saving him from the fire; but we very plainly saw their design. The Outaouaks, who were greatly offended, could not refrain from saying that it would be necessary to eat him. That Iroquois was surprised that a mere handful of Hurons, whom his own people had enslaved, should have prevailed on an occasion of such importance.

The father who was missionary to the Hurons, foreseeing that this affair might have results which would be prejudicial to his cares for their instruction, demanded permission to go to their village that he might constrain them to find some way by which the resentment of the French might be appeased. He told them that the latter peremptorily ordered them to put the Iroquois in the kettle and that, if they did not do so, the French must come to take him away from them and place him in their own fort. Some Outaouaks who happened to be present at the council said that the French were right. The Hurons then saw themselves constrained to beg the father to tell the French, on their behalf, that they asked for a little delay, in order that they might bind him to the stake. They did this, and began to burn his fingers; but the slave displayed so great lack of courage, by the tears that he shed, that they judged him unworthy to die a warrior's death, and despatched him with their weapons.

The chiefs of all the nations at Michilimakinak were sold to other tribes, and sometimes ransomed (especially when whites). Often a captive was adopted to take the place of some person who had died, and thus was liberated from slavery. Most women and children were preserved and adopted; and the Iroquois adopted entire bands or even tribes in order to recruit their own population. — JOHN R. SWANTON, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*. [Cf. vol. i, footnote 134. — ED.]

summoned to meet at the house of the Jesuit fathers; and before each one was placed a present of guns, ammunition, and tobacco. Our envoy represented to them their short-sightedness in abandoning the interests of the French nation to embrace those of the Iroquois, whose only desire was for such a rupture. They were told that Onontio, who had every reason to abandon them, was nevertheless touched with compassion for his children, whom he desired to bring back to himself; and that he had sent the band of Frenchmen who had just arrived among them, striving to restore to the right path their minds, which had gone astray. That those houses burned on Montreal Island by the Iroquois, and the few corpses that they had seen in the unexpected invasion which the latter had made there, ought not to have such an effect on their minds as to persuade them that all was lost in the colony; that the Iroquois would not derive much profit from a blow which would far more redound to their shame than to the glory of true warriors, since they had come at that very time to ask for peace. That the French nation was more numerous than they imagined; that they must look upon it as a great river which never ran dry, and whose course could not be checked by any barrier. That they ought to regard the five Iroquois nations as five cabins of muskrats in a marsh which the French would soon drain off, and then burn them there; that they could be satisfied that the hundred women and children who had been treacherously carried away would be replaced by many soldiers, whom the great Onontio, the king of France, would send to avenge them. That since our Onontio of Canada, the Count de Frontenac, had arrived at Quebec, he had made the English feel the strength of his arms, by the various war-parties that he had sent into their country;

that even the Nepiciriniens who had recently come up to Michilimakinak with Monsieur de Louvigni had given us no little aid in putting five large English villages to fire and sword; that Onontio was powerful enough to destroy the Iroquois, the English, and their allies. Finally, if any one of these tribes undertook to declare themselves in favor of the Iroquois, he gave them liberty to do so, but he would not consent that those who wielded the war-club to maintain their own interests should hereafter dwell upon his lands; that, if they preferred to be Iroquois, we would become their enemies; and that it would be seen, without any further explanations, who should remain master of the country.

The chief of the Cinagos, rising in the council, spoke in these terms: "My brother the Outaouak, vomit forth thy hateful feelings and all thy plots. Return to thy father, who stretches out his arms, and who is, moreover, not unable to protect thee." Nothing more was needed to overturn all the schemes of the malcontents. The chiefs of each nation protested that they would undertake no action against the will of their father. But, whatever assurance they gave of their fidelity, most of them, seeing their designs foiled, sought to thwart us by other subterfuges. They did not dare, it is true, to carry out their resolution – either because they were unwilling to risk a combat with the French, who were only waiting for a final decision; or because they did not know how they could transport their families to the Iroquois country – but all their desire was for the time when they could open the way for a large troop from that nation who could carry them away. They decided, however, in a secret conclave that they would send to the Iroquois the same deputies on whom they had previously agreed; and that, if their departure should un-

fortunately be discovered, the old men should disown them. This mystery was not kept so hidden that we did not receive warning of it. A Sauteur came to warn Perrot of their intention; one of their deputies entering his cabin a little later, he reproached him for it. But, as the savage is by nature an enemy of deceit, this man could not long disguise his sentiments; and he admitted that his brother was at the head of that embassy. Monsieur de Louvigni did not hesitate to call together all the chiefs, whom he sharply rebuked for their faithlessness. The Outaouaks thought that they could exculpate themselves by casting all the blame upon the man who was to go away. Messengers were sent for him, and never did a man seem more ashamed than he when he saw that he must appear before the council; he entered the place with the utmost mortification in his face. His brother said to him: "Our chiefs are throwing the stone at thee, and they say that they know nothing about thy departure for the Iroquois." Perrot took up the word, saying: "My brother, how is this? I thought that thou wast the supporter of the French who are at Michilimakinak. When the attack was made at Tsonnontouan, all the Outaouaks gave way; thou alone, with two others, didst second the French. At all times thou hast kept nothing for thyself; when thou hadst anything thou gavest it to the French, whom thou didst love as thine own brothers; yet now thou wouldst, against the wishes of thy tribe, betray us. Onontio, who remembers thee, has told me to reward thee; I do not think that thou art capable of opposing his wishes." He gave the man a brasse of tobacco and a shirt, and continued: "See what he has given me to show thee that he remembers thee. Although thou hast done wrong, I will give thee something to smoke, so that thou mayest vomit up or swallow

whatever thou hast intended to do against him; and thy body, which is soiled by treason, shall be made clean by this shirt, which will make it white." That chief was so overcome with sorrow that it was a long time before he could speak; he recovered himself somewhat, and, addressing the old men, with an air full of pride and contempt, said to them: "Employ me in future, old men, when you undertake to plot anything against my father—he who remembers me, and against whom I have taken sides. I belong wholly to him; and never will I take part against the French." Then turning toward Perrot, he said to him: "I will not lie to thee. When thou didst arrive, I went near thee, intending to embrace thee; but thou didst regard me unkindly. I thought that thou hadst abandoned me, because I had been to the Iroquois with La Petite Racine. When thou didst speak to the tribes, I withdrew, in order to divert them from the design that we all had of giving ourselves to the Iroquois. They did not dare to oppose thee; but at night they held a council in a cabin (from which they turned out all the women and children), to which I was summoned. They deputed me to return to the Iroquois, and I believed that thou hadst a grudge against me; those reasons constrained me to yield to what they demanded from me."

Those peoples could no longer maintain their evil design; the explanations that had just been made checked its progress; but they always kept up a very surly feeling against the French nation, and, although they saw that they were unable to compass their object, they did not fail again to stir up opposition against us, in order to annoy us. The jealousy that they felt because we made presents of a few gold-trimmed jackets to some Hurons, who had appeared to be our friends in this af-

fair, inspired in them a new stratagem. They knew that the Miamis, our allies, were at war with the Iroquois; and they resolved to attack the former, who did not mistrust their design, that they might force the Miamis themselves to make peace with the Iroquois. The Sauter who had already ascertained that the Outaouaks had intended to send deputies to the Iroquois also learned that two canoes were to go to break heads among the Miamis; but we again broke up their plans, and prevented this act.

The Outagamis and the Maskoutechs, wishing to second the Outaouaks at the time when they took sides with the Iroquois—who had sent them a large collar, in order to thank them for having restored to them five chiefs whom they had captured when on a hostile expedition against the Isliinois—resolved, to do the Iroquois a pleasure, to massacre all the French who were coming down from the country of the Nadouaissioux. They persuaded themselves that they would, by such a massacre, attract to themselves the friendship of that haughty nation, who had appeared greatly pleased when the Outagamis had sent back to them five slaves of their nation, whom the Miamis had given to them to eat.

The arrival of the French at Michilimakinak was heard of at La Baye. The chief of the Puans, a man of sense, who greatly loved our nation, resolved to thwart the plot to kill our people. He went to find the Outagamis, and made them believe that Onontio had sent La Petit Bled d'Inde [i.e., Perrot] with three hundred Iroquois from the Sault, as many more Abenakis,<sup>20</sup> all the

<sup>20</sup> Abnaki (a term derived from Algonkin words meaning "east-land," or "morning-land"), "a name used by the English and French to designate an Algonquian confederacy centering in the present state of Maine, and by the Algonquian tribes to include all those of their own stock resident on the Atlantic seaboard, more particularly the 'Abnaki' in the north and the Delawares in the south. . . . In later times, after the main body of the Abnaki had removed

Nepiciriniens, and six hundred Frenchmen, to revenge himself for their evil project. The Outagamis precipitately quitted their ambuscade, and went back to their village. This chief, who was afraid that they would learn of his ruse, went to meet Perrot at the entrance of the bay; the latter promised to keep his secret, and presented to him a gold-trimmed jacket. A contrary wind compelled them to halt there for a time, and Perrot had an opportunity to become acquainted with all that had occurred at the bay. The Outagamis had taken thither their hatchets, which were dulled and broken, and had compelled a Jesuit brother to repair them; their chief held a naked sword, ready to kill him, while he worked. The brother tried to represent to them their folly, but was so maltreated that he had to take to his bed. The chief then prepared ambuscades, in order to await the French who were to return from the country of the Nadouaissieux. All the peoples of the bay had, it is true, good reason to complain, because our people had gone to carry to their enemies all kinds of munitions of war; and one could not be astonished that we had so much difficulty in managing all those people. Perrot sent back the Puan chief to the Outagamis, to tell them on his behalf that he had learned of their design against his young men, and would punish them for it; and, to let them know that he was not disturbed by all their threats, that he had sent back all his men, except fifty Frenchmen; that he had three hundred musket-shots to fire, and enough ammunition with which to receive them; that if he should by chance encounter any one of their tribe, he could not answer for the consequences;

to Canada, the name was applied more especially to the Penobscot tribe." The Sokoki were one of the tribes in this confederacy. In 1903 the Abnaki of Canada (which include remnants of other New England tribes) numbered 395; and the Penobscot of Maine say that their present population is between 300 and 400. — JAMES MOONEY and CYRUS THOMAS, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

and that it would be useless for them to ask him to land at their village.

The Puan chief returned to the bay, where he exaggerated still further what Perrot had said to him. The Renard chief visited him expressly to ascertain the truth of the matter, and dared not wait for Perrot. He departed with eighty of his warriors to march against the Nadouaissieux, after he had given orders to the people of his village to assure Perrot in his behalf that he loved him, and to take great pains to entertain him well. He proceeded to the post of the Frenchmen who were sojourning in the country of the Nadouaissieux; as they were afraid of him, they gave him presents—a gun, a shirt, a kettle, and various munitions of war; and he told them that Le Petit Bled d'Inde had resolved to recall them to the bay. This news, which was not very agreeable to them, induced them to quit that establishment; and they retired to a place eighty leagues farther inland, where they engaged the Nadouaissieux to go hunting, and to return to them in the winter. The Outagamis profited by this opportunity to attack the Nadouaissieux, of whom they slew many, and took several captives. The alarm was immediately given among the villages; the warriors fell upon them, and likewise slew many of the Outagamis, and took some captives. The chief fought on the retreat with extraordinary courage, and would have lost many more of his people if he himself had not made so firm a stand at the head of his band.

## Chapter XVIII

The Miamis, who had heard the report that Perrot would soon arrive at the bay, set out to visit him, to the number of forty, loaded with beaver-skins; when they

came near the house of the Jesuits,<sup>21</sup> canoes were sent to them that they might cross a little stream. The chief sent his young warriors to erect some cabins; when these had been made, they all resorted thither, in order to consult about the interview that they expected to hold with Sieur Perrot. An accident happened to a Saki who was at the time in his cabin; while he was sitting in the floor, a kettle which hung over the fire fell over him, and part of his body was burned, as he wore only an old raccoon-skin. He uttered a yell, with contortions that made those who were present laugh, despite the compassion which they could not help feeling for him. A Frenchman said to him, jestingly, that a man as courageous as he was ought not to fear the fire; that it was the proper thing for a warrior such as he to sing; but that, to show him that he felt grieved at the accident, he would lay over the scalded part a plaster, consisting of a brasse of tobacco. The Saki replied that such an act showed good sense; and that the tobacco had entirely healed him. The Miamis sent to beg Perrot to visit them in their cabins, that he might point out to them a place where he desired them to assemble. The place of rendezvous was at the house of the Jesuits, to which they brought one hundred and sixty beaver-skins, which they piled in two heaps. The Miami chief, standing by one of them,

<sup>21</sup> In this connection may be mentioned a most interesting relic owned by the Roman Catholic diocese of Green Bay, and deposited in the State Historical Museum at Madison, Wis. It is an ostensorium or monstrance of silver, fifteen inches high, of elaborate workmanship. Around the rim of its oval base is an inscription in French, somewhat rudely cut on the metal, which translated reads: "This monstrance [French, *soleil*, referring to its shape] was given by Mr. Nicolas Perrot to the mission of St. François Xavier at the Bay of Puants [i.e., Green Bay], 1686." This is, so far, the oldest relic existing of French occupancy in Wisconsin. For description and illustration of this ostensorium, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. viii, 199-206; and *Jesuit Relations*, vol. lxvi, 347. The Jesuit Mission was located a little above the mouth of Fox River, at the present Depere. — Ed.

spoke after this fashion: "My father, I come to tell thee that thy dead men and mine are in the same grave; and that the Maskoutechs have killed us, and have made us eat our own flesh. My three sisters, who were made prisoners in the year of the battle with the Tsonnontouans, seeing that the Iroquois were routed by Onontio [footnote, 'The Marquis de Denonville'], escaped from their hands. Some Maskoutechs, whom they encountered at the river of Chikagon, found on their way two Frenchmen who were returning from the Islinois, and assassinated them. Their dread that the women would make known this murder led the assassins to break their heads; but they carried away the scalps, which they have given us to eat, saying that they were those of some Iroquois. The Spirit has punished those assassins by a malady which has caused them and all their children to die; at last one of them confessed his crime when he was dying. Those beaver-skins which thou seest on the other side tell thee that we have no will but thine; that, if thou tellest us to weep in silence, we will not make any move [against the Maskoutechs]."

Perrot made them several presents, and spoke to them in nearly the following words: "My brothers, I delight in your speech, and war is odious when you fight against the Maskoutech; he is brave, and will slay your young men. I do not doubt that you could destroy him, for you are more numerous and more warlike than he; but desperation will drive him to extremity, and he has arrows and war-clubs, which he can handle with skill. Besides, the war-fire has been lighted against the Iroquois, and will be extinguished only when he ceases to exist. War was declared on your account when he swept away your families at Chikagon; those dead persons are seen no longer, for they are covered by those of

the Frenchmen whom the Iroquois have betrayed through the agency of the Englishman—who was our ally, and upon whom we have undertaken to avenge ourselves for his treacherous conduct. We have also for an enemy the Loup, who is his son. Accordingly, we shall not be able to assist you if you undertake war against the Maskoutechs.”

After he had delivered this speech to them he also made two heaps of merchandise; and, displaying these, continued thus: “I place a mat under your dead and ours, that they may sleep in peace; and this other present is to cover them with a piece of bark, in order that bad weather and rain may not disturb them. Onontio, to whom I will make known this assassination, will consider and decide what is best to do.” The Miamis, then, had reason to be satisfied; since they begged him to locate his establishment upon the Missisipi, near Ouiskensing [Wisconsin], so that they could trade with him for their peltries. The chief made him a present of a piece of ore which came from a very rich lead mine, which he had found on the bank of a stream which empties into the Missisipi;<sup>22</sup> and Perrot promised them that he

<sup>22</sup> This was probably the Galena River. It is not probable that the Indians of early days worked these mines along the upper Mississippi that now yield so great a supply of lead; but after they learned from the French the use of firearms they began to place much value on this metal, and probably obtained supplies of it in some crude fashion from outcropping ores. From them the French early learned the location of lead deposits, and during the eighteenth century worked mines here and there along the Mississippi, often employing Indians to do the work under their direction. The most noted of these mine-owners was Julien Dubuque, who obtained from the Sacs and Foxes (1788) permission to work mines on their lands, and from the Spanish authorities (1796) the grant of a large tract of land on the west side of the Mississippi, by means of which he acquired great wealth. See Thwaites's “Notes on Early Lead Mining,” in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. xiii, 271-292, and succeeding articles by O. G. Libby on “Lead and Shot Trade in early Wisconsin History.” Cf. Meeker's “Early History of the Lead Region,” *id.*, vol. vi, 271-296.

would within twenty days establish a post below the Ouiskonche [Wisconsin] River. The chief then returned to his village.

All the Saki chiefs and the Pouteouatemis assembled near the Jesuit house. Perrot gave them presents of guns, tobacco, and ammunition, and encouraged them to deal harder blows than ever at the Iroquois, to whom no one was a friend; and he told them how utterly knavish the Iroquois were. He said that the allies should distrust their artful words and their fine collars, which were only so many baits to lure them into their nets; and that, if they should unfortunately fall into those snares, Onontio could not any longer draw them out. He told them that they had cause to be glad that they had continued in their fidelity notwithstanding all the foolish proceedings of the Outaouaks, who had tried to induce the allies to espouse their interests instead of his. He repeated to them the details of all that he had said to the tribes on Lake Huron; and also made them understand that, if they undertook to declare themselves in favor of the Iroquois, they could go to live among them, since we would not suffer them to remain upon our lands. They protested that they would never stray from their duty; and that, although the Outaouaks had always been their friends, they were resolved to perish rather than to abandon the cause of the French.

When Perrot had reached a small Puan village which was near the Outagamis, the chief of the Maskoutechs and two of his lieutenants arrived there. They entered Perrot's cabin, excusing themselves for not having brought any present by which they could talk to him, as their village was upon his route; the chief entreated him to sojourn there, as he had something of importance to communicate to him. Although we were greatly of-

fended with both them and the Outagamis, who had sworn the ruin of the French who were among the Nadouaissieux, Perrot promised to stop at their village in order to forget the resentment that he felt toward them and to pardon them their error, which had been made only through the fault of the Renards.

The Sakis returned by way of the Outagamis, to whom they reported all that had been said to them. Perrot encountered two Outagami chiefs, who came to meet him; they approached him trembling, and begged him, in the most submissive terms, to land, in order to hear them for a little while. After he had landed, they lit a fire, and laid on the ground a beaver robe to serve him as a carpet, on which he seated himself; they were so beside themselves that for a time they could not speak. Finally one of them began to talk, saying: "The Outagamis have done wrong not to remember what thou didst formerly tell them. Since they became acquainted with thee thou hast never deceived them; and when they do not see thee they let themselves be carried away by the solicitations of the Outaouaks and others who try to induce them to abandon the French. I have tried to prevent our people from undertaking anything against thy young men; but they would not believe me, and I have been alone in my opinion. When they learned that thou wert coming, they were afraid of thee, and have begged me to tell thee on their behalf that they wish to see thee in their village, in order to reunite themselves to thy person—which they have not altogether abandoned, since if they had carried out the scheme with which the Outaouaks inspired them against the French, they would have taken care of thy children. As for me, I have taken no part in their conspiracy; and on that account I have come to meet thee, to entreat that, if thou wilt not grant

me anything for them, thou wilt at least not refuse to come and listen to them, out of consideration for me."

It was very difficult to obtain from those peoples all the satisfaction which we had desired. Their great distance from us prevents us from reducing them to obedience; and the blustering manner which must be assumed with them was the best policy that could be adopted to make them fear us. Perrot, who understood their character, yielded the point out of consideration for this chief, and promised to remain with them half a day, in order to listen to their words. The chief went away to console his people; he came back alone to meet Perrot, to ask him that he would land at the village. Another chief, seeing that the French did not leave their canoes, said that they were afraid. Our men answered that we did not fear them, and that the weapons of the French were able to make them repent, if they had the temerity to offer us any affront. The first-named chief was greatly incensed against this one, and said to his countrymen: "O Outagamis, will you always be fools? You will make the Frenchman embark, and he will abandon us. What will become of us? can we plant our fields if he will not allow it?" Throughout the village there were endless harangues, to quiet those who were seditious, and to induce the others to give *Sieur Perrot* a good reception. The head chief conducted him to his own cabin, where were present the most influential men of the tribe, who said to him "Welcome!" while offering him every token of kind feeling. Two young men entirely naked, armed as warriors, laid at his feet two packages of beaver-skins; and, sitting down, cried out to him, "We submit to thy wishes, and entreat thee by this beaver to remember no more our foolish acts. If thou art not content with this atonement, strike us down; we

will suffer death, for we are willing to atone with our blood for the fault that our nation has committed." All these acts of submission had no other object than to procure ammunition and weapons for the peltries, foreseeing that he would refuse these supplies to them. Perrot made them understand that he had come to their village only to hear them; that, if they repented of their inconsiderate demands, he would pardon them; that, although they might escape from one hand, he would hold them tightly with the other; that he was holding them by no more than one finger, but that, if they would bestir themselves a little, he would take them by the arms and gradually bring them into a safe place where they could dwell in peace.

All the chiefs begged him, one after another, to receive them under his protection, imploring him to give them ammunition for their peltries so that they could kill game to make soup for their children. He would not grant them more than a small amount [*après-dîné*]. A war-chief, who carried in his hand a dagger, thought that Perrot's clerk had not given him enough powder, and spoke so fiercely to him that the clerk yielded all he asked. Perrot was greatly irritated against them, and gave orders to have everything taken back to the canoes; but after some explanation he recognized that the chief had no bad intention. Those peoples are so brutal that persons who do not understand them suppose that they are always full of anger when they are speaking.

## Chapter XIX

Their trading being ended, the Frenchmen reëmbarked; they did so very opportunely, for the desperate frame of mind in which the Outagamis found themselves the next day, at tidings of the defeat of their peo-

ple by the Nadouaissieux, would have made them forget the alliance which they had just renewed; in the sequel, they made that feeling sufficiently evident. The French arrived at a place a little below the village of the Maskoutechs, where they encamped. The chiefs, accompanied by their families, came to receive Perrot on the bank of their river; they entreated him to enter a cabin; and by a package of beaver-skins they told him that they covered the dead whom their people had assassinated, including three Miami slaves who had escaped from the Iroquois. By another present, they begged that he would allow them to establish their village at the same place where the French were going to settle, saying that they would demonstrate to him their fidelity, and would trade with him for their peltries. Perrot told them that they had a right to settle wherever they pleased; but that, if he permitted them to come near the French, they must turn their war-clubs against the Iroquois only; that they must hang up the hatchet against the Nadouaissieux until the fire of the Iroquois should be wholly extinguished. He told them that since Onontio had undertaken war against the Iroquois (who was [formerly] his son) — on account of the Miamis who had been slain at Chikagon, and of the Maskoutechs themselves, who had lost their families — he could chastise the Nadouaissieux more easily than they were aware, when he saw that all his children were uniting their forces with his to destroy the common foe. On the next day they presented to the Frenchmen a buffalo and some Indian corn, and fire,<sup>23</sup> which were of great assistance to them during the rest of their journey. He disclosed to

<sup>23</sup> Thus in original (*feu*); it may be a misprint for some other word, or it may mean a box containing smouldering tinder (for which "punk," or decaying wood, was often used) — which would be a convenience to the French on their river voyage, even though they carried with them their own fire-steels. — Ed.

them the project formed by all the tribes—the Miamis, the Outagamis, the Kikabous, and many of the Islinois. All these tribes were to assemble at the Missisipi, to march against the Nadouaissieux. The Miamis were to command the army; the Maskoutechs also were under obligation to join them, in order to avenge the assassination of the Miami slaves. At that moment some Outagamis brought the news of the defeat of their people by the Nadouaissieux; and they secretly tried to induce the Maskoutechs to unite with them against the French, who had furnished weapons to their enemies. The Maskoutechs were careful not to embroil themselves with the French; and the difficulty which they had already experienced in reinstating themselves in the good graces of the latter hindered them from undertaking any enterprise which would displease the French. These Outagamis, who had got wind of Perrot's sending to the bay a canoe loaded with peltries, went to inform their chief of it; he sent out some men to carry it away. The Frenchmen in the canoe, hearing at night the noise of paddles, and suspecting that the savages were going to capture them, hastily slipped among the tall reeds, which they traversed without being perceived.

Perrot reëmbarked, with all his men, in good order; he encountered at the [Fox-Wisconsin] portage a canoe of Frenchmen who were coming from the country of the Nadouaissieux. He warned them not to trust the Maskoutechs, who would plunder them; but his warning was in vain. Some of that tribe, discovering them, bestowed upon them every kindness, entreating them to stop and rest themselves, on their way, at their village; but the Frenchmen had no sooner arrived there than they were pillaged. The other Frenchmen reached the Missisipi; Perrot sent out ten men to warn, in behalf of

Monsieur de Frontenac, the Frenchmen who were among the Nadouaissieux to proceed to Michilimakinak. Perrot's establishment was located below the Ouisconsinche, in a place very advantageously situated for security from attacks by the neighboring tribes.<sup>24</sup> The great chief of the Miamis, having learned that Perrot was there, sent to him a war-chief and ten young warriors, to tell him that, as his village was four leagues farther down, he was anxious to sit down with Perrot at the latter's fire. That chief proceeded thither two days later, accompanied by twenty men and his women, and presented to the Frenchman a piece of ore from a lead mine. Perrot pretended not to be aware of the usefulness of that mineral; he even reproached the Miami for a similar present by which he pretended to cover the death of the two Frenchmen whom the Maskoutechs had assassinated with the three Miami women who had escaped from an Iroquois village. The chief was utterly astonished at such discourse, imagining that Perrot was ignorant of their deed; and told him that, since he knew of that affair, he would do whatever Perrot wished in the matter. The chief also assured him that, when the allies were assembled, he would make them turn the hatchet against the Iroquois; but that until they came to the general rendezvous it was necessary that he himself should be ignorant of their design, in order that he might be there with his tribe and be able to raise a large troop against the Iroquois. The ice was now strong enough to support a man; and the Maskoutech chiefs had sent to him a warrior to inform him that the Outagamis were far advanced into the country of the Nadou-

<sup>24</sup> Although the exact location of this post is unknown, it probably was not far from the present Dubuque, Iowa — where, and at Galena on the Illinois side, were located the lead mines often mentioned by La Potherie; and later, by Charlevoix, as "Perrot's mines." See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. x, 301. — Ed.

aïssioux, and prayed the Miamis to hasten to join them; but the latter had replied that they would do nothing without the Frenchman's consent.

The Tchidüakoüingoës, the Oüaoüiartanons, the Pepikokis, the Mangakekis, the Poüankikias, and the Kilataks, all Miami tribes,<sup>25</sup> coming from all directions, marched by long stages to reach that rendezvous. The first five of these tribes were the first to arrive, with their families, at the French post; if the Tchidüakoüingoës had not been at hand with a good supply of provisions, the other bands would have perished from hunger. Perrot made them many presents, to induce them to turn their war-club against the Iroquois, the common enemy. They excused themselves from a general advance, asserting, nevertheless, that all their young men would go in various detachments to harass the Iroquois youth and carry away some of their heads. But, far from keeping their promise, they amused themselves for an entire month with hunting cattle; meanwhile, all the warriors who had joined the Outagamis and Maskoutechs were intending to march against the Nadoüais-sioux, while the old men, women, and children would remain with the French.

The savage's mind is difficult to understand; he speaks in one way and thinks in another. If his friend's interests accord with his own, he is ready to render him a service; if not, he always takes the path by which he can most easily attain his own ends; and he makes all his courage consist in deceiving the enemy by a thousand artifices and knaveries. The French were warned of all

<sup>25</sup> For account of the Miami tribes, see vol. i, note 212; cf. note 190 also. The Oüiatanon were generally called Wea by the English, which name is still applied to the present remnant of the tribe. The Piankashaw (Poüankikias) also are not quite extinct; but the other tribes named in the text are no longer known. — ED.

the savages' intrigues by a Miami woman; all these hostile actions would have greatly injured Perrot's scheme that they should turn their weapons against the Iroquois—who, moreover, were delighted that these peoples should be thus divided among themselves, for whatever discord could be aroused among them was the only way by which their plans could be made to fail. Perrot sent for the chief of the Miamis; he made him believe that he had just received a letter which informed him that the Maskoutechs—jealous at seeing themselves obliged, by way of satisfaction, to join their war-club to that of their allies—had won over the Outagamis, and that they would by common consent attack the Miamis while on the general march against the Nadouaissieux. The chief, believing Perrot's statement, did not fail to break up the band of his warriors, and sent them the next day to hunt buffalo; they also held a war-feast, at which they swore the ruin of the Maskoutechs. The Outagamis, who had displayed more steadfast courage than did the other allies, finding that they were advanced into the enemy's country, consulted the medicine-men to ascertain whether they were secure. Those jugglers delivered their oracles, which were that the spirits had showed them that the Sauteurs and the Nadouaissieux were assembling to march against them.<sup>26</sup> Whether the

<sup>26</sup> "Mediators between the world of spirits and the world of men may be divided into two classes; the shamans, whose authority was entirely dependent on their individual ability; and priests, who acted in some measure for the tribe or nation, or at least for some society. 'Shaman' is explained variously as a Persian word meaning 'pagan,' or, with more likelihood, as the Tungus equivalent for 'medicine-man,' and was originally applied to the medicine-men or exorcists in Siberian tribes, from which it was extended to similar individuals among the tribes of America." Often the shaman performed practically all religious functions, and sometimes was also a chief, thus obtaining also civil authority; his office was sometimes inherited, sometimes acquired by natural fitness; and as a preliminary to its exercise he would enter into a condition of trance for a certain period, or gain the proper psychic state through

devil had really spoken to these men (as is believed in all Canada), or the Outagamis were seized with fear at finding themselves alone, without assistance—however that might be, they built a fort, and sent their chiefs and two warriors to Perrot, begging that he would go among the Nadoüaissieux to check their advance, and thus enable the Outagamis, with their families, to take refuge in their own village.

The Miamis would actually have engaged in battle with the Maskoutechs, if the Frenchman had not dissuaded their chief from doing so. They received the Outagami chief with all possible honors; he told them that their people were dead. Perrot asked him how many the dead were. He replied: "I do not know anything positively; but I believe that they all are dead, for our diviners saw the Nadouaissieux assemble together

the sweat-bath—or sometimes as the result of a narrow escape from death. In treating the sick or in other functions of their office, shamans were among many tribes supposed to be actually possessed by spirits, but among the Iroquois they controlled their spirits objectively. "Hoffman enumerates three classes of shamans among the Chippewa, in addition to the herbalist or doctor, properly so considered. These were the *Wâbĕnô'*, who practiced medical magic; the *Jĕs'sakkĭ'd*, who were seers and prophets deriving their power from the thunder god; and the *Midĕ'*, who were concerned with the sacred society of the *Midĕ'wiwin*, and should rather be regarded as priests. . . . As distinguished from the calling of a shaman, that of a priest was, as has been said, national or tribal rather than individual, and if there were considerable ritual his function might be more that of a leader in the ceremonies and keeper of the sacred myths than direct mediator between spirits and men. . . . Even where shamanism flourished most there was a tendency for certain priestly functions to center around the town or tribal chief. . . . Most of the tribes of the eastern plains contained two classes of men that may be placed in this category. One of these classes consisted of societies which concerned themselves with healing and applied definite remedies, though at the same time invoking superior powers, and to be admitted to which a man was obliged to pass through a period of instruction. The other was made up of the one or few men who acted as superior officers in the conduct of national rituals, and who transmitted their knowledge to an equally limited number of successors. Similar to these perhaps were the priests of the *Midĕ'wiwin* ceremony among the Chippewa, Menominee, and other Algonquian tribes.—JOHN R. SWANTON, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*, art. "Shamans and priests."

in order to come against us; they are very numerous, and we are greatly troubled on account of our women and children, who are with us. The old men have sent me to thee, to beg thee to deliver us from the danger into which we have too blindly rushed; they hope that thou wilt go among the Nadouaissieux to stop their advance." Perrot told him that they ought not to place any confidence in their jugglers, who are liars; and that it was only the Spirit who could see so far. "Not at all," replied the Outagami; "the Spirit has enabled them to see what they have divined, and that is sure to happen." The Miamis were strongly in favor of advancing. The Frenchman, who felt obliged by the orders that he had received from Monsieur de Frontenac to keep everything quiet among the allies, concluded that it would be best to avert an attack so fatal to the Outagamis; their destruction would have been very detrimental to the Frenchmen who happened to be in those regions, because the savages, who are naturally unruly, would have taken the opportunity to vent their resentment against them. He made them understand, however, that since the safety of a band of their tribe was concerned, he would go to make some attempt at ameliorating their situation. He encountered on the voyage five cabins of Maskoutechs, a village which was preparing to go to the French establishment to trade there for ammunition. He told them the reason for his departure, and warned them not to trust themselves with the Nadouaissieux.

Perrot finally arrived at the French fort,<sup>27</sup> where he learned that the Nadouaissieux were forming a large war-party to seek out the Outagamis or some of their allies. As he was then in a place under his own author-

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<sup>27</sup> This fort may have been Perrot's supposed winter-quarters (1685-1686; see note 172) near Trempealeau, Wis., or else one of the forts he had built on Lake Pepin. — Ed.

ity, he made known his arrival to the Nadouaissioux, whom he found, to the number of four hundred, ranging along the Missisipi in order to carry on some warlike enterprise. They would not allow his men to return to him, and themselves came to the fort, to which they flocked from all sides in order to pillage it. The commandant demanded why their young men appeared so frightened at the very time when he came to visit his brothers in order to give them life. A chief, arising, made the warriors retire, and ordered them to encamp. When their camp was made, Perrot summoned their leading men, and told them that he had come to inform them that the Miamis, the Outagamis, the Isolinois, the Maskoutechs, and the Kikabous had formed an army of four thousand men to fight with them; that they were to march in three parties—one along the Missisipi, another at a day's journey farther inland, but following the river, and a third at a similar distance from the second. He told them that he had stayed this torrent that was going to carry them away; but finding them by chance in this locality, he exhorted them to return to their families and hunt beavers. They replied with much haughtiness that they had left home in order to seek death; and, since there were men, they were going to fight against them, and would not have to go far to find them. They exchanged some peltries; when that was done, they sent to ask Perrot to visit their camp, and there manifested to him the joy that they felt at his saying that they would find their enemies, entreating him to allow them to continue their route. He tried all sorts of means to dissuade them from this purpose; but they still replied that they had gone away to die; that the Spirit had given them men to eat, at three days' journey from the French; and that Perrot had invented a falsehood to them, since

their jugglers had seen great fires far away. They even pointed out the places where these fires were: one was on this side, and at some distance inland; another at some distance, and farther inland; and a third, which they believed to be the fire of the Outagamis. All these statements were true, for the five cabins of the Maskoutechs were at three days' journey from the French establishment; their village was on one side, the fort of the Outagamis opposite, and the Miamis and Islinois at a considerable distance farther. It is believed that the demon often speaks to the savages; our missionaries even claim to have recognized him on several occasions. There was much truth in what the evil spirit had communicated to their jugglers. Other expedients must be employed to stop them; to gain their attention, Perrot gave them two kettles and some other wares, saying to them with these: "I desire you to live; but I am sure that you will be defeated, for your devil has deceived you. What I have told you is true, for I really have kept back the tribes, who have obeyed me. But you are now intending to advance against them; the road that you would take I close to you, my brothers, for I am not willing that it should be stained with blood. If you kill the Outagamis or their allies, you cannot do so without first striking me; if they slay you, they likewise slay me; for I hold them under one of my arms, and you under the other. Can you then do them any wrong without doing it to me?" He was holding the same calumet which they had sung to him when he first made discovery of their tribe; he presented it to them to smoke, but they refused it. The insult which they thus offered was so great that he flung the calumet at their feet, saying to them: "It must be that I have accepted a calumet which dogs have sung to me, and that they no longer remember what they said to me. In singing it to me, they chose me as their chief,

and promised me that they would never make any advance against their enemies when I presented it to them; and yet today they are trying to kill me." Immediately a war-chief arose, and told Perrot that he was in the right; he then extended it toward the sun, uttering invocations, and tried to return it to Perrot's hands. The latter replied that he would not receive it unless they assured him that they would lay down their weapons. The chief hung it on a pole in the open place within the fort, turning it toward the sun; then he assembled all the leading men in his tent, and obtained their consent that no hostile advance should be made. He then called Perrot thither, and sent for the calumet; he placed it before him, one end in the earth and the other held upright by a small forked stick. He drew from his war-pouch a pair of moccasins, beautifully made; then he took off Perrot's shoes, and with his own hands put the moccasins on the Frenchman's feet. Finally he presented to him a dish of dried grapes, and three times put some of the fruit in Perrot's mouth. After he had eaten these, the chief took the calumet and said to him: "I remember all that these men promised to thee when they presented to thee this calumet; and now we listen to thee. Thou art depriving us of the prey that the Spirit had given us, and thou art giving life to our enemies. Now do for us what thou hast done for them, and prevent them from slaying us when we are dispersed to hunt for beaver, which we are going to do. The sun is our witness that we obey thee."

## Chapter XX

Quiet was restored by the good management of *Sieur Perrot*, who returned to his establishment. He related to the *Maskoutechs*, who came to meet him, all that he had accomplished among the *Nadouaissioux* in favor of

them and their allies; and compelled them to settle, with the Kikabous, at a place two days' journey from him near a Miami village—in order that, if the Nadouaissious should happen to break their promise, these tribes might be able to resist them. They sent a band of forty warriors against the Iroquois, and brought back twelve of their scalps.

The French discovered the mine of lead, which they found in great abundance; but it was difficult to obtain the ore, since the mine lies between two masses of rock—which can, however, be cut away. The ore is almost free from impurities, and melts easily; it diminishes by a half, when placed over the fire, but, if put into a furnace, the slag would be only one-fourth.

The Outaouaks, seeing that all was quiet among the tribes of the south, rightly judged that now they could easily carry fire and sword among those peoples. The alliance which they desired to contract with the Iroquois continually possessed their minds; and however great the ascendancy that the Jesuits had gained over them, or the skill with which Monsieur de Louvigni managed them, in order to keep them in submission to Monsieur de Frontenac's orders, nothing could prevail over their caprice. They left Michilimakinak, to the number of three hundred, and formed two war-parties; one was to join the Islinois against the Ozages and the Kanças, and the other was to disperse into the country of the Nadouaissious. Their course of conduct could only be very detrimental to the interests of the French colony, which would thus be prevented from receiving general aid from all the southern tribes against the Iroquois. When they had arrived at the Bay des Puans, they could not refrain from shouting, that they found in their road, a very precipitous place, which they did not believe they

could scale or overturn. "There is Metaminens," they said, "who is going to stretch out legs of iron, and will compel us to retrace our steps; but let us make an effort, and perhaps we shall get over them." They remembered that he had restrained them at Michilimakinak when they, after the raid of the Iroquois upon the island of Montreal, declared themselves against the French. Their fear that he would exasperate the minds of certain tribes in that region made them speak thus. Monsieur de Louvigni had taken the precaution to inform them that Perrot had pledged the Outagamis to our cause, and knew that he could accomplish a great deal in circumstances of such importance. Perrot was prudent enough to say nothing to the Outaouaks about their enterprise; he only inquired from some of the war-chiefs if they had not some letters from Michilimakinak to give him. They told him that they had none, and that they were going to seek for the bones of their dead among the Nadouaissieux, hoping that he would consent to their project, as the Jesuit fathers and Monsieur de Louvigni had done. He treated them very affably, and had them smoke a pipe, without saying anything to them of other matters. Some one privately gave him the name of the chief who had hidden one of his letters; Perrot went to see this chief at night, and demanded why he had not given him the letter. "Dost thou not suppose," he said to him, "that the Spirit who has made writing will be angry with thee for having robbed me? Thou art going to war; art thou immortal?" The chief was, of course, somewhat surprised, imagining that the other had had some revelation in regard to the letter; he restored it to Perrot, and on the next day asked him to tell what he had read therein. The substance of it was, that he positively must restrain the Outaouaks; or, if he could not

do that, he must render them objects of suspicion to the Outagamis. The chief of the Puans was extremely friendly to the French, to whom he offered any service that he could render; he was thoroughly convinced that, if the Outaouaks should advance, all the other nations would undoubtedly follow them, and that an army of two thousand warriors would be formed. All the prominent men of that tribe desired to hear the speech that Perrot was going to deliver to them; and it was in the following manner that he addressed them, holding his calumet in his hand, and having at his feet twelve brasses of tobacco: "Cinagots, Outaouaks, and you other warriors, I am astonished that, after having promised me last year that you would have no other will than Onontio's, you should tarnish his glory by depriving him of the forces that I have with much labor obtained for him. How is this? you who are his children are the first to revolt against him. I come from a country where I have hung up a bright sun, to give light to all the tribes that I have seen—who now leave their families in quiet, without fearing any storms, while warriors are seeking to avenge the bones of their dead among the Iroquois; but you are trying to raise clouds there which will give birth to thunderbolts and lightnings, in order to strike them, and perhaps to destroy even us. I love peace in my country; I have discovered this land, and Onontio has given the charge of it to me; and he has promised me all his young men to punish those who undertake to stain it with blood. You are my brothers; I ask from you repose. If you are going to war against the Nadouaissieux, go by way of Chagouamigon,<sup>28</sup> on Lake Superior, where you have al-

<sup>28</sup> Shaugawaumikong, one of the most ancient Chippewa villages, situated on Long Island (formerly known as Chequamegon peninsula), in Ashland County, Wis. On account of the inroads of the Sioux it was at one time re-

ready begun war with them. What will Onontio say when he learns of the measures that you are taking to deprive him of the aid that he is expecting from you, and from his other children, whom you are trying to seduce? You have forgotten that your ancestors in former days used earthen pots, stone hatchets and knives, and bows; and you will be obliged to use them again, if Onontio abandons you. What will become of you if he becomes angry? He has undertaken war to avenge you, and he has maintained it against nations far stronger than you. Know that he is the master of peace, when he so wills; the Iroquois are asking it from him, and it would be made if he did not fear that you would be made its victims, and that the enemy would pour out upon you his vengeance, to satisfy the shades of the many families that he has sacrificed on your account. With what excuses will you defend yourselves before him from all the charges that will be made against you? Cease this hostile advance which he forbids to you. I do not wash the blackened countenances of your warriors; I do not take away the war-club or the bow that I gave you on Onontio's behalf; but I recommend to you to employ them against the Iroquois, and not against other peoples. If you transgress his orders, you may be sure that the Spirit who made all, who is master of life and of death, is for him; and that he knows well how to punish your disobedience if you do not agree to my demands." He lighted his calumet, and, throwing to them the twelve brasses of tobacco, continued: "Let us smoke together; if you wish to be children of Onontio, here is

moved to Madeleine Island, on the site of the modern La Pointe; and in later years was located on the mainland, near Bayfield. It was on Long Island (which stretches across the entrance of Chequamegon Bay) that the Jesuits established in 1655 the mission of La Pointe du Saint Esprit; it became large and prosperous, but was broken up in 1670 by the Sioux. — JAMES MOONEY, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

his calumet. I shall not fail to inform him of those who choose to set him at naught."

He presented it to them, but there was one war-chief who refused it; the result, however, was more propitious than Perrot had expected. The Puans, seeing that the only question now at issue was to appease this man, offered to him the calumet, and made him a present of six kettles, with two porcelain collars. The next day, they made a solemn feast for the Outaouaks, and sang the calumet to them. At the time when these three hundred warriors set out to return to Michilimakinak, a young warrior, with several of his comrades, left the troop, in order to continue their march against the Nadouaissieux. The Outaouaks, who had fully decided to forget all their resentment, were so offended at this proceeding that they threw all the baggage of these men into the river, and dragged their canoe more than a hundred paces up on the land.

## Chapter XXI

The only tribes who defended the interests of the colony in the midst of this great revolution were the Nepiciriniens and the Kikabous; they marched against the Iroquois, and brought back some scalps of the latter, which they presented to the commandants at Michillimakinak. A few days later was seen the arrival of other canoes, who had carried away an Iroquois; he was released before they came ashore, which was contrary to the laws of war—which require that a general council be held in order to deliberate on the death or the life of a prisoner. It was known that the Outaouaks were responsible for this proceeding; they had maliciously informed this freedman of several grievances which they

had invented against the French people. He said that his people had fought a battle in the vicinity of Montreal, in which four hundred Frenchmen had been slain, and that Onontio had not dared to go outside the town. As this tale, mingled with insulting language, made evident the evil intentions of those peoples, it was [considered] proper to come to an understanding [with them] in regard to the many insolent utterances which were heard on every side. The more prominent chiefs tried to justify themselves, and in truth there were some of them who had taken no part in this dissension; the author of it was the man who seemed least opposed to our interests, but he nevertheless caused all these disorders. He assembled a general council, to which all the Nepiciriniens were summoned. They came to see the French, with five collars, and asked them by the first, to forget their error; by the second, they assured us that they had united themselves to the body of their father, never to be detached from him. By the third, that he would know them in the following spring, by the war-parties that they would send against the Iroquois; by the fourth, that they submitted to Onontio; and by the fifth, that they renounced the English and their trade.

Reply was made, by five presents, to all that they had said; and it was represented to them that the trade with the English, which they so eagerly sought to obtain, would deliver them into the hands of the Iroquois, whose only endeavor was to deceive them.

The long stay made at Montreal by four canoes which had been sent thither to learn news of the colony made the savages suspect that [our] affairs were going ill; they made a feast in the village, which was attended by the chiefs only. A Frenchman who passed that way was

invited to it, and the most distinguished among the chiefs said to him: "Thou who meddlest in thwarting us, cast a spell to learn what has become of our men whom thy chief sent into thy country to be eaten there." This savage had had secret connections with the English, in order to secure for them entrance into the beaver-trade; and he made them a present of ten packets of pelts, as a pledge for the promise that he had given them. All the allied tribes acted only by his order; he was the originator of all that was done among those peoples; and he had rendered himself so influential that whatever he required was blindly followed. In his childhood he had been carried away [from his home] as a slave. This Frenchman whom he told to play the juggler replied that "The Frenchmen were not in the habit of eating men; that if this man were a chief he would answer him, but he was a slave; and that it was not a dog like him with whom the Frenchman compared, he who bore the message of one of the greatest captains who had ever been heard of." This savage replied [to the other savages]: "You who are here behold the insults which I meet in your village from this man who is troubling our peace, when I am trying to maintain our common interest." All the guests began to show their discontent, and matters would perhaps have turned to the disadvantage of the Frenchman if he had not instantly found some expedient for rendering this very chief odious to them. He had been a slave of a man named Jason [*sc.* Talon] (of whom I have already spoken), who had been the first to go from the north to Three Rivers, the second government district in Canada, and who for all the services which he had rendered to the tribe had been chosen its head chief. At his death he left several children, who could not maintain that

high position because this slave, who was freed, had by his ability acquired the general esteem of all those peoples. This Frenchman, I say, began to call out in the middle of the feast: "Where art thou, Talon? where art thou, Brochet?" (another head chief); "it was you two who ruled over all this country; but your slave has usurped your authority and is making your children his slaves, although they ought to be the real masters. But I will sacrifice everything to maintain their rights, and Onontio will favor us; he will know how to restore them to the rank that they ought to occupy." Hardly had he spoken when the sons and relatives of those two chiefs arose, and took the Frenchman's part, uttering threats against this seditious man; and it lacked little of their reaching the utmost violence of conduct. Those young chiefs, remembering what their ancestors had been, compelled this old man to render satisfaction to the Frenchman; and the fear which they also felt of being exposed to unpleasant results constrained them to entreat the missionary fathers to adjust all these matters.

The French themselves did not know what to think of the delay of those canoes; at last they arrived, after a three months' wait. They reported that a battle had been fought at the *Prairie de la Madeleine*, three leagues from and opposite Montreal, against the Iroquois and the English, in which we had gained all the advantage—it might be said that the enemy had suffered extreme injury.

This news made some impression on the minds of the Outaouaks, but the Miamis of the Saint Joseph River easily forgot what they had promised to execute against the Iroquois; they no longer thought of anything except of opening the way to the Loups, who had opened a commerce with the English. Those of Mara-

mek were somewhat unsettled ; they were reminded that the bow and war-club of Onontio had been delivered to them in order to attack the Iroquois and avenge their own dead. The story of the battle at the Prairie, and of the raising of the siege of Quebec [1690] by the English (who had come thither with all the forces of New England), was related to them. "Your father," it was said to them, "does not cease to labor for your peace ; but you have always remained inactive since he undertook war against the Iroquois. The Spirit favors his arms ; his enemies fear him, but he does not heed them." They were counseled to avail themselves of his aid while he was willing to favor them ; and they were told that there was reason to complain of their indifference while he was sacrificing his young men. They promised to send out three hundred warriors, who would not spare either the Loups or the English. The Maskoutechs, who had seemed to have our interests so strongly at heart, gave very unsatisfactory evidence of their fidelity ; they amused themselves with making raids into the lands of the Nadouaissieux, where they carried away captive some Puans and some Ayoës who had made a settlement there, without troubling themselves whether those two tribes were their allies. The jealousy which they felt because some Frenchmen had promised to barter merchandise among the Miamis in preference to them inspired them to send to that people ten large kettles, to warn them to distrust the Frenchmen, who were going to form a large band of Abenakis and their [other] allies to deal a blow on the families of the Miamis after their men had set out on the march against the Iroquois. This present put an end to all their war-parties, excepting only their chief, who went away with eighty warriors. The Outagamis, who had been very quiet, not-

withstanding the promise that they had given to join with that tribe against the common enemy, promised to do so when the Sakis, the Puans, and the Pouteouatemis should take the war-path. For this purpose an Iroquois scalp and a gun were given to them, and this speech was made to them: "Here is an Iroquois who is given to you to eat; this scalp is his head, and this gun is his body. We wish to know whether you are French or Iroquois, in order to send word to Onontio; if you go to war we shall believe that you are French, if you do not go we shall declare you an enemy."

## Chapter XXII

The great distance which lay between us and all these allies was a hindrance in causing them to show all the activity that we could have desired. The French who went among them, either to facilitate their trading or to maintain them in entire harmony, were even exposed to many dangers. Perrot was on the point of being burned by the Maskoutechs, who had received from him so many benefits. That tribe, insatiable for all that they saw, sent to ask him to come to their village, to trade for beaver-skins; and a chief of the Pouteouatemis accompanied him. Hardly had he reached their village, with six Frenchmen, when the savages seized all their merchandise; and they displayed more inhumanity to him than to the meanest of their slaves. It is a rule among all the tribes to give to the captives the first morsels of what food may be eaten; but these savages would not give him any food. One of their chiefs could not refrain from complaining that he would not have the strength to endure the fire, if they did not take better care of him; they intended to sacrifice him to the shades

of many of their men who had been killed in various fights, and they said that Perrot was the cause of their death. A warrior who came to him to pronounce his sentence told him that they had intended to burn him in the village, but that part of them would not be witnesses of this execution. He said to Perrot: "Thou wilt set out at sunrise, and wilt be closely followed, and at noon thou wilt be burnt on the plain. Thou art a sorcerer, who hast caused the deaths of more than fifty of our men, in order to pacify the shades of two Frenchmen whom we killed at Chikagon. If thou hadst taken revenge for those two alone we would not have said anything, for blood must be paid for with blood; but thou art too cruel, and therefore thou art going to be the victim who is to be sacrificed to them." Great steadfastness was necessary in so terrible an emergency. The Pouteouatemi chief also sang his death-song, on the eve of his departure, and they made him and Perrot set out the next morning from the village, with the other Frenchmen, who were lamenting their wretched fate. While the people in the village were amusing themselves with dividing all the property of the Frenchmen, the latter went forward a little distance on a beaten path, and then they bethought themselves to take several wrong directions without losing sight of one another. Some warriors were sent after them, who could not find their tracks; but the French do not know whether these men really could not discover them, or only pretended not to find them. However that may be, a Miami who had married a Maskoutech woman saw these warriors start, and immediately gave notice of it to his tribe, telling them that Perrot had been plundered and burned by the Maskoutechs. The chief of the Miamis was at that time at war with the Iroquois; and the Miamis were only waiting the moment of his arrival, in order to avenge

this death. The tribes of the bay were also notified of it, and desired to seize the war-club for the chastisement of those peoples. Perrot arrived safely among the Puans, where they immediately hung up some war-kettles, as if to go in search of what had been taken from him, and to kill some Maskoutechs; but as it was a question of holding together all those tribes in their desire to form a connection with the common enemy, he obliged them to suspend their anger, for the sake of the French nation.

On all sides hostilities were begun in earnest against the Iroquois. The Outaouaks sent out war-parties against them from all quarters, and during the summer killed or captured more than fifty of them. The Miamis of Muramik [*sc.* Maramek]<sup>29</sup> carried off eight Loups, to whom the English had given many presents; four of these captives they gave to the commandant on the Saint Joseph River, and reserved the others for Frenchmen, friends of theirs who had rendered them many services. Monsieur de Louvigny sent thirty-eight men to go in quest of these, with orders to induce the Miamis to put them in the kettle if they could not be taken to Michillimakinak; but those of Saint Joseph had carried them away. The tribe of Loups was entirely devoted to the interests of the English, who were trying to make use of them in order to gain entrance among our allies; and the Iroquois profited by this union. Too many precautions, therefore, could not be taken to keep back the former from the beaver trade, and to obtain the advantage from acts of hostility against the latter. A present of fifty pounds of gunpowder was given to the Miamis of Maramek, to unite them to our interests; and they took the war-path to the number of two hundred—who

<sup>29</sup> Marameg (Maramek) was the early name of Kalamazoo River, Mich.

separated into four bands, after having divided the powder among them. On the next day after their departure a solemn feast was made by order of Ouagikougaïganea, the great chief, to obtain from the Spirit a safe return. They erected an altar, on which they placed bear-skins arranged to represent an idol; they had smeared the heads of these with a green clay, as they passed in front of these skins, kneeling down before them; and every one was obliged to assist at this ceremony.<sup>30</sup> The jugglers, the medicine-men, and those who were called sorcerers occupied the first row, and held in their hands their pouches for medicines and for jugglery; they cast the spell, they said, upon those whose deaths they wished to cause, and who feigned to fall dead. The medicine-men placed some drugs in the mouths of these, and seemed to resuscitate them immediately by rudely shaking them; the one who made the most grotesque appearance attracted the most admira-

<sup>30</sup> The term "ceremony" means, in the strict sense, "a religious performance of at least one day's duration. These ceremonies generally refer to one or the other of the solstices, to the germination or ripening of a crop, or to the most important food supply. There are ceremonies of less importance that are connected with the practices of medicine-men or are the property of cult societies. Ceremonies may be divided into those in which the whole tribe participates and those which are the exclusive property of a society, generally a secret one, or of a group of men of special rank, such as chiefs or medicine-men, or of an individual. Practically all ceremonies of extended duration contain many rites in common. An examination of these rites, as they are successively performed, reveals the fact that they follow one another in prescribed order, as do the events or episodes of the ritual." Among some tribes the ritual predominates, among others it is subordinated to the drama. The rites are partly secret (and proprietary), and partly public (constituting the actual play or drama); there are also semi-public performances, but conducted by priests only. There is much symbolism connected with most of these elaborate ceremonials. "Inasmuch as ceremonies form intrinsic features and may be regarded as only phases of culture, their special character depends on the state of culture of the people by which they are performed; hence there are at least as many kinds of ceremonies as there are phases of culture in North America. . . . In those tribes or in those areas extended forms abound where there exists a sessile population or a strong form of tribal government."

— GEORGE A. DORSEY, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

tion. They danced to the sound of drums and gourds; they formed, as it were, two hostile parties, who attacked and defended in a battle. They had for weapons the skins of serpents and otters, which, they said, brought death to those on whom they cast the spell, and restored life to those whom they wished [to live]. The director of the ceremony, accompanied by two old men and two women at his side, walked with serious manner, going into all the cabins of the village to give notice that the ceremony was to begin soon. They practiced the imposition of hands on all persons whom they met, who, by way of thanks, embraced their legs. Everywhere were seen dances, and one heard only the howls of the dogs which they were killing in order to offer the sacrifices. The bones of those which were eaten were afterward burned, as in a holocaust. The persons who had been killed, and whom the medicine-men brought back to life by the spell, danced separately, while the others remained as if dead. Men, women, girls, and boys of twelve years old, fell dead or were restored to life, as were even the jugglers, the medicine-men, and the sorcerers. Every one had offered the handsomest ornaments that he could. Some persons thrust down their throats sticks a foot and a half long, and as large as one's thumb, and feigned to lie dead; then they were carried to the medicine-men, who brought them back to life and sent them away to dance. Others swallowed feathers of the swan or eagle, then drew these out, and fell down, as if dead; and these also were resuscitated. In short, one recognized in their antics only diabolical contrivances.

The best thing in this festival was, that all the riches of the village were destined for the jugglers. The ceremonies lasted during five days, both day and night; at the latter time they were within the cabins, and by day

in the public place—where they approached from all sides, marching as if in procession. It was useless to represent to them that all this that they were doing was criminal before God; they answered that this was the right way to secure his favor, to the end that he should give some enemies to be eaten by their young men, who would die without that if they did not observe this solemnity. One of their war-parties arrived at the end of thirty days; they had killed many Iroquois, without losing one of their own men, and they said to the French: "Believe us, our sort of ceremony has made the Spirit listen to us." The other bands came back some time afterward, with a number of prisoners, and the Loups whom the men of Saint Joseph had made to turn aside.

While the Miamis were giving to Monsieur de Frontenac proofs of their fidelity, the Maskoutechs had openly declared hostilities against their allies the Ayoës, and had cut to pieces all the inhabitants of the Ayoës's main village. Some of them came to the Miamis and tried to induce Perrot to go among them, assuring him that they would make reparation for the pillage of his merchandise; but the Miamis, who knew that the Maskoutechs intended to eat him, sharply asked them if they thought that he was a dog, whom they could drive away when he disturbed them, and then bring him back at the first caress which they offered him. The Maskoutechs learned that all the peoples of the bay, with the Miamis and several other tribes, had intended to avenge the injury which the former had inflicted on Perrot; and they sent him two deputies to ask that he would not go away from Maramek, where they wished to confer with him. Their chief came in person, with a number of warriors, and entered the cabin of the Miami chief, where a meeting was called of the more prominent men

of the tribe, and of the Kikabous. The Maskoutechs had carried away some Ayoës slaves, a woman and three children, whom they seated before Perrot, and said to him: "We have borrowed thy guns; they have thundered upon a village, which they have made us eat. See the effect which they produced, and which we bring to thee," at the same time displaying these slaves. They placed forty beaver robes before him, and continued their speech thus: "We have taken from thee a garment to dazzle the sight of our enemies and make ourselves feared by them, and we pay thee for it by this beaver; we do not pay thee for thy guns and merchandise. If thou art willing to receive us with forgiveness, we know where are some beavers, for we saw them on our road [to this place]. If we live a few years, thou shalt be satisfied; for we did not intend to plunder thee, and we have only placed thy merchandise to thy credit."

This chief was told that in order to appease the wrath of Onontio it was necessary to destroy a village of Iroquois; and that they must not attack people who had not made war on them; that they were easily forgetting their own dead [killed by the Iroquois], whom the French were continually avenging; that they would do well to send to Montreal one of their chiefs, in order to appease Onontio; that his fire was lighted, to receive all those who desired to warm themselves at it – and even the Iroquois, although they were his enemies; and that they might be sure that we would have taken vengeance on their tribe, if we had not caused all the others to hang up their hatchets. A chief resolved to accompany that Frenchman [i.e., Perrot] to Montreal, in order to turn aside the resentment of Monsieur de Frontenac; and forty Miamis escorted him as far as the bay. When they arrived among the Outagamis, the latter dissuaded

the Maskoutech from going farther; because they told him that the rule of the French was to hang thieves, without any pardon, and that he would for love of his people certainly suffer the same fate—which caused him to return home.

The English, who had until then made all sorts of attempts to insinuate themselves among the Outaouaks, found the finest opportunity in the world for succeeding in this. As soon as they learned that the Iroquois had granted life to the son of a Sauteur chief, they procured his freedom; they had thought that, as his father was dead, he might succeed the latter, and that the ascendancy which he possessed over the minds of his people would be an effectual means to facilitate to them some further entrance among the neighbors of the Sauteurs. The gratitude that this freedman felt (as they believed beyond doubt) for so great a benefaction must induce him to engage in any undertaking in favor of his liberators. Moreover, the Iroquois were planning also to obtain some advantage from this matter; and on both sides they gave the Sauteur collars and presents in order to persuade our allies to take sides and carry on trade with them. He met the Outaouaks out hunting, in the midst of the winter; they met together to hear the explanation of those collars, and at the same time concluded to keep the affair secret. They secretly sent, "under ground," many presents to the Sakis and to the peoples at the bay, to constrain them to withdraw from the war against the Iroquois; among those tribes many visits were made [by the Outaouak envoys], but they replied that all those solicitations were useless, and that they would die rather than abandon the interests of the French. The Sauteurs, who were beginning to realize that the Iroquois had spared their lives, declared them-

selves against our allies if they intended to continue war against the Iroquois. Nothing could make them go back from their decision; they said that they were men, capable of resisting whomsoever undertook to thwart them in what they had resolved. The commandant at Michillimakinak, when he heard of the friendship of the Sakis, sent word to them that he and his Frenchmen would die [for them] if they were attacked, even offering them his fort as a refuge. The Cinago Outaouaks, who had declared in favor of the Sauteurs, fearing that the Sakis would carry far the resentment which they had displayed against the latter, on the one hand undertook to reconcile them with the Sakis, and on the other did everything in their power to turn them aside from the Iroquois War. They made presents to the Sauteurs, and gave them a calumet which said that their dead lay together among the Nadouaissieux, and that, since they were relatives, they ought to hang up their hatchets this year—but assuring them of no interference another year, if they wished to resume the war.

The Outaouaks faithfully kept the secret of the collar which the Iroquois had given to the Sauteurs, and, in order not to cause suspicion in the French, they asserted to Monsieur de Louvigny that they had received it for the sake of peace, and that they had been urged to become mediators with Onontio for that end. They tried to persuade that officer to accept this collar himself, since he was commandant at Michillimakinak; but he excused himself, and informed them that they must go to present it to Onontio. They did not hesitate to send envoys to him, who took advantage of the departure of the Sakis.

We may say that the Hurons and the Outaouaks were in extreme blindness about all that concerned the Iro-

quois, whom they believed to be really their friends; for while they did whatever the latter wished, in order to give them substantial proofs of their friendship, the Iroquois sought, underhand, for occasions to take the others by surprise. After the departure of those envoys the Hurons captured two Iroquois, whom they sent back to their homes with many presents, as a pledge to their nation that the Outaouak people had no greater desire than alliance with them—at the same time congratulating them on having spared the lives of the Sauteurs; but the Iroquois did not act in so good faith.

Dabeau, a Frenchman who had been a slave among them for several years, was with a band of warriors who went out to attack whomsoever they should encounter; being left alone with eight of their men and two women, he killed them all while they were asleep, and took the women to the first village of our allies that he could light on, when he found two Hurons hunting beavers. His fear of being himself slain by men who could have appropriated to themselves the exploit which he had performed constrained him to make them a present of the two slaves, and of the scalps which he had brought with him. He embarked with them for Michillimakinak. The arrival of these two women threw much light [on the designs of the Iroquois], and the [Huron] people felt indignation at finding themselves thus deceived. Immediately a war-party was sent out, who laid violent hands on thirteen Iroquois who were coming to make war on them; they killed five and captured seven of these, and only one escaped. As it was known that an agreement had been made between the Hurons and the Iroquois that they would on both sides spare the lives of captives whom they might take, our people observed that the Hurons were planning to act thus by these Iro-

quois. Some Frenchmen, seeing them come ashore, killed two of the captives with their knives; the Hurons rescued the other five and took them into their village, and seized their weapons. General disorder arose; the Outaouaks remained neutral, and stepped aside to be spectators of the fracas. Nansouakouet, the only friend of the French, called his warriors together, in order to support the French in case fighting arose. The Hurons, who knew the generous nature of the French, incapable of doing harm to those who were in their power, hastened to our fort, in order to find an asylum there. The Hurons did not push their violent acts further; the old men entreated the commandant not to pay attention to the insolence of their young men, and brought to him the chief of the Iroquois band, to dispose of him as he should think best. Although the character of the French is opposed to inhumanity, it was impossible to avoid giving a public example of it [in this case]. The continual favors which were bestowed on the captives by our allies—who at heart were more our enemies than were even the Iroquois—only secured the continuance on both sides of the secret arrangements which existed between them; and, in order to exasperate at least the Iroquois, it was considered best to sacrifice this chief. For this purpose all the Outaouaks were invited “to drink the broth of this Iroquois,” to express myself after their manner of speech. A stake was planted, to which he was attached by his hands and feet, leaving him only enough freedom to move around it; and a large fire was kindled near him, in which iron implements, gun-barrels, and frying-pans were made red-hot, while he sang his death-song. All being ready, a Frenchman began to pass a gun-barrel over his feet; an Outaouak seized another instrument of torture, and one after an-

other they broiled him as far as the knees, while he continued to sing tranquilly. But he could not refrain from uttering loud cries when they rubbed his thighs with red-hot frying-pans, and he exclaimed that the fire was stronger than he. At once all the crowd of savages derided him with yells, saying to him, "Thou art a war-chief, and afraid of fire; thou art not a man!" He was kept in these torments during two hours, without giving him any respite; the more he gave way to despair and struck his head against the stake, the more they flung jests at him. An Outaouak undertook to refine on this sort of torture; he cut a gash along the captive's body, from the shoulder to the thigh, put gunpowder along the edges of the wound, and set fire to it. This caused the captive even more intense pain than had the other torments, and, as he became extremely weak, they gave him something to drink—but not so much to quench his thirst as to prolong his torture. When they saw that his strength began to be exhausted, they cut away his scalp, and left it hanging behind his back; they lined a large dish with hot sand and red-hot coals, and covered his head with it; and then they unbound him, and said to him, "Thou art granted life." He began to run, falling and again rising, like a drunken man; they made him go in the direction of the setting sun (the country of souls), shutting him out from the path to the east; and they allowed him to walk only so far as they were willing he should go. He nevertheless had still enough strength to fling stones at random; finally they stoned him, and every one carried away [a piece of] his broiled flesh.

Those savages who were most incensed quieted down after the departure of the deputies who carried to Monsieur de Frontenac the Sauteur's collar; and our people made various attempts to ascertain its real meaning, and

what reply the Outaouaks and the other tribes made to the English and the Iroquois. At Michilimakinak there was a Frenchman who was an intimate friend of one of the principal council chiefs among our allies; he assured this chief of entire protection from Onontio. As man readily discloses his thought in the midst of joy, the chief, after being warmed by a little brandy, promised the Frenchman to meet him next day in the woods, where he would tell him in confidence the entire condition of affairs; and the two went to the appointed place. The Outaouak assured him that the English had sent to the tribes four collars. By the first they sent word that they would establish a post on Lake Herier, where they would come to trade; the second took the savages under their protection. By the third, the English ceased to remember the pillage, by the savages together with the French, from their warriors who were going to Michilimakinak; and by the fourth they promised to furnish their merchandise at lower prices than those asked by Onontio — who was avaricious and robbed them.

As for the Iroquois, they had sent to these tribes eight collars. By the first, they said that they remembered the peace that they had made with La Petite Racine, and that they had not desired to break it, even though their brothers the Outaouaks should kill them every day; by the second, they buried all the dead whom their brothers had slain. The third hung up a sun at the strait between Lake Herier and Lake Huron, which should mark the boundaries between the two peoples, and this sun should give them light when they were hunting. By the fourth, they threw into the lake, and into the depths of the earth, the blood that had been shed, in order that nothing might be tainted with it. By the fifth, they sent "their own bowl," so that they might have but one dish from

which to eat and drink. By the sixth, they promised to eat the "wild beasts" around them which should be common [enemies] to both. The seventh was to make them "eat together of the buffalo," meaning that they would unite to make war on the Miamis, the Islinois, and other tribes. By the eighth, they were to eat "the white meat," meaning the flesh of the French.

This chief told the Frenchman the replies of the Outaouaks, who consented to all these demands and sent return messages by means of collars, red-stone calumets,<sup>31</sup> and bales of beaver-skins; and he was secretly engaged to go down to Montreal and talk with Onontio, who would not fail to question closely the Sauteurs who had gone away with the Outaouak deputies.

<sup>31</sup> Among the Indians a favorite material for their pipes was "the red clay-stone called catlinite, obtained from a quarry in southwestern Minnesota, and so named because it was first brought to the attention of mineralogists by George Catlin, the noted traveler and painter of Indians. . . . When freshly quarried it is so soft as to be readily carved with stone knives and drilled with primitive hand drills." The deposit of catlinite occurs in a valley near Pipestone, Minn.; the stratum of pipestone varies from ten to twenty inches in thickness, the fine, pure-grained stone available for the manufacture of pipes being, however, only three or four inches thick. The aboriginal excavations were quite shallow, and extended nearly a mile in length; but since the entrance of the whites into that region the Indians have carried on much more extensive operations, with the aid of iron implements obtained from the whites. "This quarry is usually referred to as the sacred pipestone quarry. According to statements by Catlin and others, the site was held in much superstitious regard by the aborigines;" and there is reason to believe that it was held and owned in common, and as neutral ground, by tribes elsewhere hostile to one another. "Since the earliest visits of the white man to the Côteau des Prairies, however, the site has been occupied exclusively by the Sioux, and Catlin met with strong opposition from them when he attempted to visit the quarry about 1837." In 1851 these lands were relinquished to the Federal government, and by a treaty in 1858 the privilege of freely mining and using the red stone was guaranteed to the Sioux; accordingly those people annually obtain from the quarry so much of the stone as they desire to use. They manufacture pipes and various trinkets from it, and sell much of the stone to the whites, who in turn manufacture and sell similar articles, using lathes in making them; in consequence, the genuine Indian products are crowded out of the market, and are seldom found. — W. H. HOLMES, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

## Chapter XXIII

The Miamis, continually occupied against the Iroquois, levied a force of three hundred warriors. Some Frenchmen who were in that quarter, looking only at their own interests, made the savages believe that Onontio desired them to hunt beavers for one winter, to trade these for ammunition, in order to undertake in the following spring an expedition against the common enemy; but this advice did not hinder them from sending out a war-party, who captured and tomahawked twelve Iroquois. Finding themselves pursued by a great number, in another encounter they killed sixteen of the enemy. The Sakis and their allies also displayed their fidelity to Onontio; and it was only the Outagamis and the Maskoutechs who broke all their promises. They were implacable against only the Nadouaissieux, whatever the peace which they had made together, and whatever the difficulty in which they had found themselves, from which they were only extricated through the mediation of the French. This passion for vengeance which dominated them could never be effaced from their minds, and they set out on the war-path, with all their families. They destroyed [a village of] eighty cabins of Nadouaissieux, and cut to pieces all who offered resistance; and they practiced unheard-of cruelties on their captives. In this fight they lost fifteen men, and in revenge for this they burned two hundred women and children. Six Frenchmen went among them in order to redeem some of these slaves, and themselves narrowly escaped being consigned to the flames. The Miamis were deeply moved by all these disturbances of the peace; and they feared that the Nadouaissieux, desiring to take revenge, would attack them on their journey. As they had not

been at all implicated with the Maskoutechs, they engaged Perrot to go to the Nadouaissioux, to assure them of the sympathy felt for them by the Miamis. Perrot encountered a band of Nadouaissioux who were coming as scouts against the Maskoutechs, who told him that at eight leagues above he would find sixty of their men, who formed an advance-guard to watch lest their enemies should return to the attack. He had no sooner reached that place than those men approached him, all bathed in tears, and uttering cries which would touch even the most unfeeling. After they had wept about half an hour, they placed him on a bear-skin and carried him to the summit of a mountain, on which they had encamped; this was done at the moment when he appeared deeply affected by their disaster. He asked them to make his arrival known at the French fort; and a few days later six Nadouaissioux set out with him, to go thither. He passed through the village, which was entirely ruined, and where nothing could be seen except melancholy remains from the fury of their enemies; the laments of those who had escaped from their cruelty were heard on every side. A Frenchman was there at this time who called himself a great captain; he had persuaded the savages, while displaying many pieces of cloth, that he was unfolding these in order to bring death on those who had devoured their families—a deception which only served him to get rid of his merchandise more quickly. But when the Nadouaissioux learned that Perrot had arrived they came to find him at this village and conducted him to his fort; and he took advantage of so favorable an opportunity to present to them the calumet on behalf of the Miamis. It was in this manner that he delivered his message:

“Chiefs, I weep for the death of your children, whom

the Outagamis and the Maskoutechs have snatched from you, while they told lies to me; Heaven has seen their cruelties, and will punish them for it. This blood is still too fresh to undertake vengeance for it at once. God allows you to weep, in order to incline him toward you; but he declares against you and will not aid you if you set out on the war-path this summer. I have heard that you are assembling together to seek your enemies; they form but one body, and are resolutely awaiting you. They have entrenched themselves in a strong fort; the Outagamis have with them the greater part of their prey, and will certainly massacre those captives if you make your appearance. I cover your dead, by placing over them two kettles. I do not bury them deep in the ground, and intend only to protect them from the bad weather until Onontio has heard of your loss; he will deliberate on what he can do for you. I will go to see him, and will try to obtain from him that he should cause the restoration of your children who are slaves among your enemies; it is not possible that he should not be moved by compassion. The Miamis, who are his children, obeyed him when I told them in his behalf to put a stop to the war which they were waging against you; they have heard of your affliction, and they weep for your calamity. See their calumet which they have sent you; they send you word that they disapprove the actions of the Maskoutechs and the Outagamis. They ask you to renew this alliance which exists between them and you; and, if you send out war-parties to go to find your bones, do not make a mistake by perhaps attacking their families on your way."

This discourse was followed by many bitter lamentations; only cries and songs of death were heard. They seized burning brands, with which they burned their

own bodies, without making any display of pain, repeating many times this expression of despair, *Kabato! Kabato!* and they scorched their flesh, with wonderful fortitude.

Perrot, having allowed them time to yield to the natural emotions all that a just resentment could inspire in them, placed before them several brasses of tobacco, and said: "Smoke, chiefs! smoke, warriors! and smoke peacefully, in the expectation that I will send back to you some of your women and children, whom I will draw out from the mouths of your enemies. Place all your confidence in Onontio ["Monsieur de Frontenac" – La Potherie], who is the master of the land, and from whom you will receive all sorts of satisfaction." Then he gave them five or six packages of knives, and again spoke to them: "These knives are for skinning beavers, and not for lifting the scalps of men; use them until you have tidings from Onontio."

The Frenchmen who had detained them to trade for their peltries were obliged to come to the fort to sell their merchandise. He whom they had regarded as a great captain having arrived there, the savages went to find him, and told him that, since the goods which he had displayed to them would cause the deaths of the Outagamis and the Maskoutechs, they desired to sing to him and Perrot some "funeral calumets," in order that these might aid them in their enterprises. They said: "We have resolved not to leave our dead until we have carried away [the people of] a village, whom we intend to sacrifice to their shades. We recognize the Miamis as our brothers, and we are going to send deputies to make peace with them. We do not bear much ill-will to the Outagamis for their having carried away our women, for they have spared their lives, and did not

pursue them when they ran away from them. Ten of the women have arrived here, who report to us that the Outagamis have good hearts, and that they take it ill that the Maskoutechs have eaten all their slaves. Here are three young men who have just arrived, who report that for one Maskoutech who was killed in the battle they have burned and put to death twenty of our wives and children; and that in their retreat their only food was our flesh."

This Frenchman said that he was ready to receive the calumet, if Perrot was willing to accept the other. The Nadouaissieux assembled in the cabin of the war-chief, where they went through the ceremonies connected with calumets of war; they made the two Frenchmen smoke these, and placed the ashes of the tobacco in the ground, invoking the [Great] Spirit, the sun, the stars, and all the other spirits. With difficulty Perrot refused this calumet, excusing himself as being only a child, who could not do anything without the consent of his father. He said that he had come to weep for their dead, and to bring them the calumet for the Miamis, who had had no share in the barbarous act of their enemies; and that if they would give him a calumet as a response to the Miamis he would carry it to them. But he could not declare against the Maskoutechs, who would distrust him because they would not fail to hear that the "funeral calumets" had been sung to him. He said that he had very strong reason to complain of them, since he had run the risk of being himself burned among them; but that everything must be referred to Onontio. The Nadouaissieux admitted that he was right, and said that they would hang up the war-club until they should have informed Monsieur de Frontenac of all that had occurred. The Outagamis would have been glad if the Frenchmen

had conducted some Nadouaissieux to them to arrange for peace; they were much encumbered with their prisoners, and they were not ignorant that their proceedings had been contrary to the law of nations. The Nadouaissieux did not think it best to expose their deputies, alone [to danger], and to the number of thirty they set out for the Miami village; and they spent some time on the bank of the Missisipi, at a French post opposite the lead mine. Notice was given to the Miamis of the arrival of envoys from the Nadouaissieux, and forty of them set out to join the latter. The conference that took place between these two tribes was occupied with offers of service from one, and lamentations on the part of the other. The Nadouaissieux (according to their custom) poured many tears on the heads of the Miamis, who made them a present of a young girl and a little boy whom they had rescued from the hands of the Maskoutechs. They covered the dead of the Nadouaissieux by giving them eight kettles, assuring them of their friendship, and made the chiefs smoke—promising them that they would obtain as many as they could of their [captive] women and children. They held secret conferences (unknown to the French) during one night, and the Miamis swore the entire destruction of the Maskoutechs. Our people sent word to a village of Miamis, established on the other side of the Missisipi, that we had something to communicate to them from Onontio; and they came, to the number of twenty-five. They were told that in the post where they were settled they were of no use for supporting Onontio in the Iroquois War; that they would obtain no more supplies for war unless they turned the war-club against the Iroquois; and that they ought to fear that the Nadouaissieux would fall upon them when that people should go to

take vengeance for their dead upon the Maskoutechs. They promised to locate their fires at Maramek. They would have done so at the Saint Joseph River, at the solicitation of the chief of that district; but his refusal to furnish them gunpowder and balls gave them too unfavorable an opinion of his avarice to attract them to a union with him. The Maskoutechs got wind of the meeting between the Nadouaissieux and the Miamis that was brought about by Perrot; and they imagined that this could only be the result of his remembering the injuries that they had done him. [Accordingly] they immediately swore his ruin, and flattered themselves that, by plundering all the property of Perrot and the Frenchmen who were with him, they would have the means for taking flight more easily to the Iroquois country if they had to give way under the power of the [other] tribes. One night they tried to take him by surprise, but some dogs—who have a very strong antipathy for the savages, who commonly eat them—caused them to be discovered; and this obliged Perrot to put himself in an attitude of defense. The Maskoutechs, whose attack had miscarried, retreated without making any further effort; and their fear lest the French and the Miamis might form a league with the Nadouaissieux against them induced them to send one of their chiefs to Maramek, to sound the Miamis adroitly. He there encountered Perrot, with whom he had a private conversation. The savage is ordinarily politic and very pliant in behavior; this man said to Perrot with a smile, “Thou rememberest what I did to thee; thou art seeking to revenge thyself,” and told him that he was sure that the tribes felt much resentment against the Nadouaissieux, who knew well that they were surrounded on all sides by their enemies; but that what was causing the Mas-

koutechs most regret was the seizure that they had made of all his merchandise—for which, it would appear, he sought an opportunity to take revenge. It was a matter of prudence not to exasperate this chief too much, and unreasonable acts often cause ruinous results; and it might be that, if he were told that the French would find means to put a stop to all the annoyances to which they were continually exposed, the Maskoutechs would come and attack the Miamis, as people who no longer placed bounds to their conduct with any one whatever. Perrot contented himself with very concisely upbraiding the Maskoutech for all his tribe's acts of perfidy, in regard to not only the French but the Nadouaissioux. Meanwhile some young Maskoutech warriors came into their cabin, who told this chief that he was required at the village, and that their men had discovered the army of the Nadouaissioux at the lead mine. He was very ready to break off the conversation, and ran precipitately into the village, where he uttered shouts to notify his men, who were dispersed, that they must retreat to their own village in order to build a fort as quickly as possible.

The principal chiefs of the Miamis took advantage of the departure of the French, who were going back to Montreal, and nearly all the village escorted them as far as the Bay of Puans. The Sakis and the Pouteouatemis wished to be also of this party; and on all sides were heard many expressions of eagerness to go to hear the voice of Monsieur de Frontenac. The Frenchmen devoted themselves, while waiting for their embarkation, to the deliverance of the Nadouaissioux prisoners who were among the Outagamis. The latter had received as a present two Iroquois from the Miamis of Chikagon; and policy restrained them from burning

these captives, because they hoped that, in case the Nadouaissioux came to attack their village, they could immediately retire with their families among the Iroquois, who would protect them from their enemies. They were persuaded [by the French] that all the peoples of these quarters desired their complete ruin; the Sauteurs had been plundered, the French treated in a brutal manner, and all their allies insulted. They had intended to send to the Iroquois one of their chiefs, with these two liberated captives, in order to invite that nation to join them on the confines of Saint Joseph River, and were inclined to ask the Maskoutechs to unite with them—which would have enabled them to collect a body of nine hundred warriors, in order to attack first the Miamis and the Islinois. The son of the great chief of the Outagamis came to the bay, where he had a secret conversation with one of the most distinguished Frenchmen. It was no sooner learned that he had resolved to go down to Montreal than some men of his tribe did all that they could to hinder him from this; but he told them that he was very glad to visit the French colony. The French departed as soon as they had sent some Nadouaissioux, whom they had redeemed, back to their own country.

## Chapter XXIV

The Outaouaks at Michilimakinak conceived jealousy at the arrival of these newcomers, and did what they could to make them return each to his own country; it was suspected that they were still plotting something against the French nation. An Outaouak was adroitly sounded, in order to find out [if there were] new intrigues, and many presents were promised to him. He asked for a drink of brandy, intending to feign intoxi-

cation, so that he could make one of his companions talk who was actually in that condition; he told the latter, very angrily, that he would prevent the scheme of the Michilimakinak people from succeeding. The other replied that he was not able to prevent it; and there was much disputing on both sides. The Outaouak acknowledged, privately, that the Hurons had gone to the Iroquois, with a calumet ornamented with plumes, and several collars, in order to carry the message of the Outaouaks; the latter asked for full union with the Iroquois, and desired to abandon the side of the French, in order to place themselves under the protection of the English. Our people attempted to gain further and more thorough information by means of another Outaouak, who was the most influential man in that tribe; and he was regarded as the most faithful friend of the French. He said only this, that the Hurons, pretending to go to Sakinan in search of medicinal herbs, had really gone to the Iroquois country. Soon afterward it was learned that the Hurons were to bring some of the Iroquois with them to make arrangements, during the coming winter, for the place of rendezvous; but they did not fail to send chiefs to Montreal to beguile Monsieur de Frontenac. The Outagamis were very undecided over the conduct that they should observe in regard to the Iroquois, since the son of their chief had gone to visit our governor; whatever inclination they may have felt for the Iroquois, they concluded to await his return. The Hurons and the Outaouaks practiced all their tricks, as they had planned. Monsieur de Frontenac gave them several public audiences, at which they presented to him collars which assured him of their unshakable attachment. They returned home well pleased, and kept on the defensive in the river of the Outaouaks, not daring even to travel

in the daytime for fear of the Iroquois—who on the voyage down the river had killed one of their men, and wounded a Frenchman and the Huron chief Le Baron. We can say that all those peoples were strangely blind as to their own interests. There was [among them] only eagerness to become attached to the Iroquois, whom they believed to be their friends—who, however, did not spare them when they could find an opportunity [to attack them]; but when it was a question of declaring in our favor they did so in the most indifferent possible manner.

Soon after their departure from Montreal, a rumor circulated that six hundred Iroquois were coming to ravage all our coasts; Monsieur de Frontenac made a general review of all his troops, and detached ten or twelve hundred men to resist the enemy at the start. The Pouteouatemis, the Sakis, the Malhominis, and that son of the great chief of the Outagamis undertook to go out themselves scouting as far as Lake Frontenac. The zeal that they displayed in this emergency deeply touched the governor, and he made them many presents on their return; and he assured the Outagami that, although his tribe had always been hostile to us, by plundering and insulting the French, they would be numbered with our allies.

Meanwhile the fleet of the French and the allies who were bringing their peltries arrived at Montreal; they informed us of the death of the famous Outaouak chief *Nansoaskouët*, who had been slain among the Osages.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> The Osage (a name corrupted by French traders from *Waxhazhe*, their own name) are the most important southern Siouan tribe of the western division. Dorsey classed them "in one group with the Omaha, Ponca, Kansa, and Quapaw, with whom they are supposed to have originally constituted a single body living along the lower course of the Ohio River. . . . The first historical notice of the Osage appears to be on Marquette's autograph map of 1673, which locates them apparently on Osage River, and there they are placed

He was the supporter of the French in his own country, and had been an opponent of the English, in spite of his tribe. He had gone to the Islinois the preceding autumn, at the solicitation of his warriors, who for a long time tried to deprive us of the succor which the tribes of the south were giving us in the Iroquois War. He had, I say, gone to the Islinois, to avenge the death of the son of Talon (who had died from sickness in the war which he had undertaken to wage on the Kancas and the Osages), and had induced all the Islinois to join his expedition. In the attack on a village they encountered sturdy resistance; Nansoaskouët, who tried to storm it, pushed too far in advance [of his men] and was surrounded, and they pierced him with arrows, which caused his death. The Outaouaks who had come down in this fleet brought some presents and an Osage slave, by way of announcing to Monsieur de Frontenac the death of this great chief; he made answer to them that they ought first to take revenge against the Iroquois, who had slain his nephew (meaning Nansoaskouët's), and that he would send his warriors against the Osages

by all subsequent writers until their removal westward in the nineteenth century. . . . In 1714 they assisted the French in defeating the Foxes at Detroit. Although visits of traders were evidently quite common before 1719, the first official French visit appears to have been in that year by Du Tisné, who learned that their village on Osage River then contained 100 cabins and 200 warriors. The village of the Missouri was higher up. "Then, as always, the tribe was at war with most of the surrounding peoples." By a treaty of Nov. 10, 1808, the Osage ceded a large part of their lands to the United States, and still more by later agreements. "The limits of their present reservation were established by act of Congress of July 15, 1870. This consists (1906) of 1,470,058 acres, and in addition the tribe possessed funds in the Treasury of the United States amounting to \$8,562,690, including a school fund of \$119,911, the whole yielding an annual income of \$428,134. Their income from pasturage leases amounted to \$98,376 in the same year, and their total annual income was therefore about \$265 per capita, making this tribe the richest in the entire United States. By act of June 28, 1906, an equal division of the lands and funds of the Osage was provided for." Their population in the last-named year was 1,994, having dwindled to that figure from some 5,000 a century ago. — JOHN R. SWANTON, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

and the Kancas. This response pleased them little, because, as the savages are very capricious, they do not allow themselves to be easily influenced by mere promises. They went back, however, to Michilimakinak, as did all our allies, with the wife of the chief of the Nadouaissieux, who had been one of the prisoners whom the Outagamis had taken; she was sold to an Outaouak, and ransomed by a Frenchman who brought her to Montreal. There remained only one Nadouaissieux, who was kept there some time; our people were very glad to let him see the colony, in order that he might give his own people some idea of the power of the French. He had come expressly to arouse in Monsieur de Frontenac some compassion for their calamity.

## Chapter XXV

Monsieur the Count de Frontenac had reason to believe that the Hurons and the Outaouaks had spoken to him with open heart in the audiences that he had given them; but he was much surprised to learn that the Hurons had sent ambassadors to the Iroquois, and the Iroquois to the Hurons. The French commandant at Michilimakinak did not doubt that the presence of these latter would cause a great disturbance, and tried to make the Outaouaks tomahawk them. Great disorder prevailed, and the savages generally took up arms against him; they were, however, obliged to send the envoys back to their homes, for fear of some accident. The Outaouaks departed, the following winter, in order to hunt game at the rendezvous that they had appointed, where they were to conclude a full and substantial peace. They had taken the precaution to leave at Michilimakinak a chief to keep up friendly intercourse with the French, and as a pledge of their fidelity to Onontio,

without letting it be known that they had any premeditated design—even asserting that, if they saw any Iroquois, they would gradually lure them on, in order to “put them into the kettle.” The French affected not to distrust their fidelity, but sent an envoy to the Bay of Puans to induce our allies to send out meantime some bands who could hinder this [proposed] interview. At the bay were found only the old men—as at that time all the young men were out hunting except those who had gone down to Montreal, who had [not yet?] returned home—and one chief, who was told that a favorable opportunity now offered itself which might secure for him recommendation to Onontio, from whom he would receive all possible advantages if he would go to persuade his people to fight the Iroquois at the rendezvous which the latter had granted to the Outaouaks. He promised that he would go gladly, for love of Onontio, and immediately set out without attempting to make a war-feast beforehand. The Outagamis were weaned from the ardor that they had had for going with their families to join the Iroquois. The son of their chief, who had returned from Montreal, made a deep impression on their minds by the account which he gave of the power of the French. The Sakis had always supported our interests during that time; they lost some men and various captives were taken from them, for they found themselves surrounded by six hundred Iroquois who were going to Montreal for war. It was this army (who had been discovered by our Iroquois of the Saut), whom the Outagami chief’s son and our other allies had gone to reconnoiter at Lake Frontenac. These Sakis were taken to Onnontagué, where the ambassadors of the Hurons had arrived; and the Onnontaguais<sup>33</sup> censured the

<sup>33</sup> Onondaga (or Onontagués), one of the Iroquois Five Nations, formerly living on Onondaga Lake, N.Y., and extending northward to Lake Ontario,

Hurons for coming to treat of peace while their allies the Sakis were killing the Iroquois. The Hurons replied that they did not regard the Sakis as friends or as allies; and for the purpose of confirming this assertion they immediately burned the hands and cut off the finger ends of the Saki prisoners. The Outagamis and the Sakis made every possible effort to form a peace with the Nadouaissieux. They promised the French that they would, if the latter would prevent the incursions of the Nadouaissieux, take the war-path against the Iroquois to the number of twelve or fifteen hundred men; and even that, if the Outaouaks made peace with that nation, they would strike higher up—"in order to clear the road," they said, "which the Outaouaks would proceed to close against the French who should come to trade at the bay and with the southern tribes." All the Frenchmen who were in those quarters were called together; and it was decided that an attempt must be made to restrain the Nadouaissieux, to the end that the Outagamis might place in the field an expedition that would without fail be successful. The French bought six boys and six girls, the children of chiefs, besides the great chief's wife whom they already had; and they set out across the country to conduct these captives to the Nadouaissieux. Perrot was selected to transact this business; he also held special orders from Monsieur de

and southward to perhaps the Susquehanna. Their principal village, Onondaga, was also the capital of the confederation; and their present reserve is in the valley of Onondaga Creek. "Many of the Onondaga joined the Catholic Iroquois colonies on the St. Lawrence, and in 1751 about half of the tribe was said to be living in Canada." In 1775 most of the Iroquois took sides with the British, who at the close of the war granted them lands on Grand River, Ont., where a part of them still reside. "The rest are still in New York, the greater number being on the Onondaga reservation, and the others with the Seneca and Tuscarora on their several reservations. . . . In 1906 the Onondaga in New York numbered 553, the rest of the tribe being with the Six Nations in Canada." — J. N. B. HEWITT, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

Frontenac for other enterprises. He arrived in the country of the Miamis, who sent people to meet him and point out to him their village, having learned from some one of their people who had come from Montreal that he was coming to see them again. On his arrival he announced to them that Onontio gave positive orders that they should quit their [present] fires, and light them at the Saint Joseph River; for the execution of this order they gave him, on their part, five collars. He told them that he was going to make efforts to restrain the Nadouaissieux, and to return to them some slaves whom he had rescued from their enemies; and he admonished them all to be present in their village on his return thither. The Nadouaissieux had sent to the Miamis seven of their women, whom they had rescued from the hands of the Maskoutechs; and the Miamis made them presents of eight kettles, a quantity of Indian corn, and tobacco.

## Chapter XXVI

Twelve hundred Nadouaissieux, Sauteurs, Ayoës, and even some Outaouaks were then on the march against the Outagamis and the Maskoutechs, and likewise were not to spare the Miamis. They had resolved to take revenge on the French, if they did not encounter their enemies. These warriors were only three days' journey distant from the Miami village from which Perrot had departed; they learned that he was coming among them with their women and children and the wife of the great chief. This was enough to make them lay down their arms and suspend war until they had heard what he had to say to them. He reached his fort, where he learned these circumstances; he was also told that it was believed that the Miamis were already routed. As he did not know that the Nadouaissieux had the news that

he was coming, he sent to them two Frenchmen, who came back the next day with their great chief. I cannot express the joy that they displayed when they saw their women. The remembrance of the loss of the other captives caused at the same time so much grief that it was necessary to allow a day's time to their tears and all the lamentations that they uttered. According to them, Perrot was a chief whose "feet were on the ground and his head in the sky;" he was also the "master of the whole earth," and they heaped on him expressions of joy and endearment, regarding him as a divinity. They were so busy in weeping hot tears on his head and on the captives, and in gazing on the sun with many exclamations, that he could not obtain from them any satisfaction. On the next day they told him that when "the men" arrived they would render him thanks; it is thus that all the savages are designated among themselves, while they call the French "French," and the [other] people from Europe by the names of their respective nations. They are persuaded that in all the world they are the only real men; and the greatest praise that they can bestow on a Frenchman whose worth they recognize is when they say to him, "Thou art a man." When they wish to show him that they have contempt for him, they tell him that he is not a man. The chief desired to bring up all his men near the fort, but the Sauteurs, the Ayoës, and several villages of the Nadouaissioux had made their arrangements for hunting beaver, and there were only two villages, of about fifty cabins each, who came to the fort. After the Nadouaissioux had encamped, this chief sent to ask Perrot to come to his cabin, with all the men who had accompanied him. His brother, seeing a Saki, exclaimed that he was an Outagami, saying, "Behold the man who has eaten me!" This Saki, knowing well that he was not safe, offered

him his calumet, which the Nadouaissieux refused. A Miami, who also was with the French, took his own calumet and offered it, which he accepted. Perrot gave his own calumet to the Saki, and told him to offer it; the Nadouaissieux did not dare to refuse, and took and smoked it—but with the cries and tears of an angry man, calling the Great Spirit, the Sky, the Earth, and all the spirits to witness that he asked to be pardoned if he received the calumet which his enemy offered him, which he dared not refuse because it belonged to a captain whom he esteemed. There was no one save a woman whom this very Saki had rescued from slavery who could prove who he was. He was so frightened that, if he had not felt some confidence in the outcome, he would have longed to be far away. During several days feasts were made, and the result of this conference was, that the Nadouaissieux were very willing to make peace with the Outagamis if the latter would restore the rest of their people; but in regard to the Maskoutechs they had, together with the Miamis, sworn to ruin them; and they parted, each according to his own side. The Miamis were advised not to rely on the Nadouaissieux, and they were more than ever attracted to the idea of abandoning Maramek in order to settle on Saint Joseph River, as Onontio had commanded them. They were given two hundred pounds of gunpowder in order to procure subsistence for their families while on the journey, and to kill any Iroquois whom they might meet. The Saki who had been so frightened in the cabin of the Nadouaissieux chief took to flight, and filled the Outagamis with such alarm that even the women and children worked, day and night, to build a fort in which they could make themselves safe. The arrival of one of their men, who was out hunting beaver, increased their ter-

ror. He had indeed seen the camp of the Nadouaissieux army, but had not been able to consider whether it was recently made. The alarm therefore broke out more wildly than ever; they made many harangues to encourage all the warriors to make a stout defense; and each vied with the others in showing the best way of ordering the combat. Word was sent to the bay to inform the tribes of the march of the Nadouaissieux, and at the same time to ask them to furnish aid to that people. Scouts went out in all directions; some reported that they had seen the fires of the army and some freshly-killed animals, at two days' distance; and others, who arrived the next day, said that the army was only one day's march from there. Finally, people came in great haste to say that the river was all covered with canoes, and that, from all appearances the general attack was to be made at night; nothing, however, was visible. Perrot, who was then among them, wished to go in person to reconnoiter; but they prevented him from this, in the fear which they felt, [imagining that] by detaining him the enemy would not come to surprise them. Some hunters, who had been bolder than the others, reported that the [alleged] camp had been made the preceding winter. Their minds began to regain confidence, and they no longer sought for anything save the means for sending back their prisoners in order to secure peace, and for making ready after that to march against the Iroquois; and they again entreated Perrot to be their mediator for peace. He went among them and proposed to them the above arrangement, which they accepted; and promised to conduct their people [to the Nadouaissieux country] in the moon when the [wild] bulls would be rutting. The savages divide the year into twelve moons, to which they give the names of ani-

mals, but which are similar to our months. Thus, January and February are the first and second moons, when the bears bring forth their young; March is the moon of the carp, and April that of the crane; May is the moon of the Indian corn; June, the moon when the wild geese shed their feathers; July, that when the bear is in rut; August, the rut of the bulls; September, that of the elk; October, the rut of the moose; November, that of the deer; December, the moon when the horns of the deer fall off. The tribes who dwell about the [Great] Lakes call September the moon when the trout milt; October, that of the whitefish; and November, that of the herring; to the other months they give the same names as do those who live inland.<sup>34</sup> Perrot then assured them that at the

<sup>34</sup> "Although the methods of computing time had been carried to an advanced stage among the cultured tribes of Mexico and Central America, the Indians north of Mexico had not brought them beyond the simplest stage. The alternation of day and night and the changes of the moon and the seasons formed the bases of their systems. The budding, blooming, leafing, and fruiting of vegetation, the springing forth, growth, and decay of annuals, and the molting, migration, pairing, etc., of animals and birds, were used to denote the progress of the seasons. The divisions of the day differed, many tribes recognizing four diurnal periods—the rising and setting of the sun, noon, and midnight—while full days were usually counted as so many nights or sleeps. The years were generally reckoned, especially in the far north, as so many winters or so many snows; but in the Gulf States, where snow is rare and the heat of summer the dominant feature, the term for year had some reference to this season or to the heat of the sun. As a rule the four seasons—spring, summer, autumn, and winter—were recognized and specific names applied to them; but the natural phenomena by which they were determined, and from which their names were derived, varied according to latitude and environment, and as to whether the tribe was in the agricultural or the hunter state. . . . The most important time division to the Indians north of Mexico was the moon, or month, their count of this period beginning with the new moon." Some tribes counted twelve moons to the year, and some thirteen. "There appears to have been an attempt on the part of some tribes to compensate for the surplus days in the solar year. Carver (*Travels*, ed. 1796, 160), speaking of the Sioux or the Chippewa, says that when thirty moons have waned they add a supernumerary one, which they term the lost moon. . . . The Indians generally calculated their ages by some remarkable event or phenomenon which had taken place within their remembrance; but few Indians of mature years could possibly tell their age before learning the white man's way of counting time. Sticks were sometimes notched by the Indians as an aid in time

time of the bulls' rutting he would be present at the mouth of the Ouisconk [i.e., the Wisconsin River], where the peace was to be concluded. He sent word to the Outagamis to have the Nadouaissieux slaves all ready; the chiefs met together for that purpose, and placed all the slaves in one cabin. Then they suddenly heard death-cries from the other side of their river; they believed that the Nadouaissieux had defeated the Miamis, and immediately sent messengers to find out how affairs stood; and these reported that the Nadouaissieux had destroyed forty of the Miami cabins, in which all the women and children and fifty-five men had been killed. This act of hostility against people whom they regarded as friends made them suspect that the Nadouaissieux would not spare them [even] after they had sent back the people of the latter. Twelve Frenchmen immediately set out with Perrot in order to try to overtake the Nadouaissieux, and to induce them to give back the slaves whom they had just taken. They reached the French fort which is in the country of those peoples, and there they obtained information of everything. The French undertook to join the Nadouaissieux, in a village which was inaccessible on account of numberless swamps, from which they could not extricate themselves; and they traveled through the bogs, without food for four days. All these Frenchmen took refuge on a little island, except two who, still trying to find some exit, encountered two hunters, who conducted them to their village. The Nadouaissieux were unwilling to send for the other Frenchmen, not daring to let them enter [their village] on account of their fear lest the French

counts. . . Some of the northern tribes kept records of events by means of symbolic figures or pictographs;" some of these are described in the 10th and 17th annual Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology.—CYRUS THOMAS, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

would kill them in order to avenge the Miamis. The latter sent presents to the Outagamis, with entreaties to furnish them assistance and with them avenge their dead, by a general march [against the Nadouaissieux], which they would make in the approaching winter. The commandant of Michilimakinak, when he heard of the treachery of the Nadouaissieux, wrote to Perrot to make the Miamis hang up the war-club, so that he could go to the Nadouaissieux country and bring away all the Frenchmen, as he did not wish them to become the victims of this new war; and he had even resolved to destroy that people who had so injured our best friends. The Miamis, who had abandoned everything to escape from that furious attack, were destitute of ammunition and of many articles which they obtained only from the French, who exchanged these for peltries. The Outagamis were resolved to give their lives for the cause of the Miamis, in case the French would consent to this; the Kikabous also asked for nothing better. A general expedition was formed to go to join the Miamis, their women and children also going with them. Perrot met on the way four Miamis, whom the chief had sent to ask that he would come to their camp; and he left all that procession, to go thither. The allies, being in sight of the camp, fired some gunshots as a signal of his arrival; and all the Miami young men stood in rows, and watched him pass them. He heard a voice saying *Paku-miko!* which signifies in their language, "Tomahawk him!" and he rightly judged that there was some decree of death against him; but he feigned to take no notice of this speech, and continued his walk to the chief's cabin, where he called together the most prominent men among them. He set forth to them that, as he had not been able to secure a more favorable opportunity for

giving them proofs of the interest which he took in the matters which concerned their tribe, he had engaged the Outagamis and Kikabous who were following him to take up arms to avenge the Miami dead against the Nadouaissieux. These words turned aside the evil design which they had formed against him, and they regaled him. At the same time there arrived a young man, who brought the news that the Frenchmen who were living in the Nadouaissieux country were at the portage. The chief assigned fifty women to transport their bales of peltries; but the young men, who had received a private order to plunder these, carried off everything that they could into the woods, and hid themselves there. The chief, being informed of this act, pretended to make a great commotion in the village, to the end that they should bring back what had been stolen; but there was one of the people who objected that this pillage had been made with the chief's consent, since he had even ordered them to kill the French; and very few of the peltries were brought back. A great tumult arose among the chiefs, who quarreled together, some taking the side of the French, and others that of the tribe. In that place were three different tribes: the Pepikokis, the Mangakokis, and the Peouanguichias<sup>35</sup> (who had conspired against the French). One of their chiefs said that he knew how to plunder merchandise and slay men,

<sup>35</sup> The Piankashaw were formerly a subtribe of the Miami, but later a separate people. La Salle induced some of them to come to his fort in Illinois; Cadillac mentions them (1695) as being "west of the Miami village on St. Joseph's River, Mich., with the Mascoutens, Kickapoo, and other tribes;" and a little later they had a village on Kankakee River. Their ancient village was on the Wabash, at the junction of the Vermillion; later they formed another village, at the present site of Vincennes, Ind. In the beginning of the nineteenth century they and the Wea began to remove to Missouri, and in 1832 both tribes sold their lands to the government and went to a reservation in Kansas, in 1867 again removing to Oklahoma with the Peoria (with whom they had united about 1854). "The Piankashaw probably never numbered

and that, since his children had been eaten by the Sioux (who had formerly been his enemies), on whom the French had taken pity, obliging the Miamis to make peace with them, he would now avenge himself on the French. Four of his warriors immediately sang [their war-song], to invite their comrades to join all together in an attack on the French. Two other tribes, who had always had much intercourse with us, at the same time took up arms; they obliged the others to cross the river the next day, after reproaching them with having robbed themselves in pillaging the Frenchmen, who were coming to succor them. "It is we," they said, "who have been ill-treated by the Nadouaissieux, whom we regarded as our allies; why stir up an unseasonable quarrel with the French, with whom you ought not to have any strife?" Those who had been so well-intentioned requested from the French only four men to accompany them to the Nadouaissieux country, in order that, in case the enemy should be entrenched there, the Frenchmen might show them how to undermine the fort. They would not depend at all upon the rest of the Frenchmen,

many more than 1,000 souls. . . In 1825 there were only 234 remaining, and in 1906 all the tribes consolidated under the name of Peoria numbered but 192, none of whom was of pure blood."

The Pepikokia are "an Algonquian tribe or band mentioned in the latter part of the seventeenth century as a division of the Miami. In 1718 both they and the Piankashaw were mentioned as villages of the Wea. That the relation between these three groups was intimate is evident. They were located on the Wabash by Chauvignerie (1736) and other writers of the period. They are spoken of in 1695 as Miamis of Maramek River, that is, the Kalamazoo. A letter dated 1701 (Margry, *Découvertes*, vol. iv, 592) indicates that they were at that time in Wisconsin. Chauvignerie says that Wea, Piankashaw, and Pepikokia 'are the same nation, though in different villages,' and that 'the devices of these Indians are the Serpent, the Deer, and the Small Acorn.' They were sometimes called Nation de la Gruë, as though the crane was their totem. They disappear from history before the middle of the eighteenth century and may have become incorporated in the Piankashaw, whose principal village was on the Wabash at the junction of the Vermillion. — JAMES MOONEY, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

whom they even entreated to return to the bay. Orders were given to these four men to desert when they should come within a day's journey from the French fort, in order to give warning there to keep on their guard, and to inform the Sauteurs of the plans of the Miamis, who intended to slaughter them. The Miamis began their march, and crossed the river; only a few chiefs were left, who spent the night with the Frenchmen. At nine o'clock in the evening the moon was eclipsed; and they heard at the camp a volley of three hundred gunshots, and yells as if they were being attacked; these sounds were repeated. These chiefs asked the Frenchmen what they saw in the sky; the latter answered that the Moon was sad on account of the pillage that they had suffered. The chiefs answered, gazing at the moon: "This is the reason for all the gunshots and cries that you hear. Our old men have taught us that when the Moon is sick it is necessary to assist her by discharging arrows and making a great deal of noise, in order to cause terror in the spirits who are trying to cause her death; then she regains her strength, and returns to her former condition. If men did not aid her she would die, and we would no longer see clearly at night; and thus we could no longer separate the twelve months of the year."

The Miamis continued to fire their guns, and only ceased when the eclipse was ended; on this occasion they did not spare the gunpowder that they had taken from us. It would have been very easy for the French to bind these chiefs and sacrifice them to the Nadouais-sioux, but the Miamis could have taken vengeance for this on our missionaries, on our Frenchmen at the Saint Joseph River, and on those at Chikagon; and our men took the road to the bay. They met three cabins of Outagamis, who were surprised at their return, and at seeing

their canoes; they concluded that the Miamis had stolen these, but the latter were exonerated [by the French] from an act in which they had been suspected of taking part.

When these Frenchmen arrived at the bay they found one hundred and fifty Outaouaks, sixty Sakis, and twenty-five Pouteouatemis, who were going to hunt beavers toward the frontiers of the Nadouaissieux; these savages held a council, to ascertain the decision of the leading Frenchmen regarding their voyage from Michilimakinak. The Miamis of Saint Joseph River had informed the commandant of Michilimakinak of the hostile acts which the Nadouaissieux had committed on them, and demanded his protection. This commandant sent out despatches prohibiting the French in all those regions to go up to the Nadouaissieux country; and ordering those who had come thence to ask the Miamis to hang up the war-club until spring, as he was going to avenge them, with all the French who should be at Michilimakinak. The aspect of affairs had necessarily changed since the Miamis had pillaged the Frenchmen; the Outaouaks therefore held a council, to learn the final resolution of the latter. They set forth that they found no one at Michilimakinak, and that, if these Frenchmen did not choose to join them, they could prevent the ruin of the Sauteurs through the agency of the Outagamis; and the Frenchmen themselves were running a risk, in case they were not backed up, since the Outagamis had been displeased at the intercourse which the former had held with the Nadouaissieux in the past. These arguments were sufficiently strong to induce the greater number of the French to join the Outaouaks. They set out on the march across the country, and a few days later two Sakis were sent to notify the Outagamis

of it, and to ask them not to go to Ouiskonch until this army had reached their village; they were also requested to inform the Miamis that Perrot was going to find them, without positively telling the latter, however, that he was coming to furnish them assistance in their war. These two Sakis reported that the Outagamis and Kikabous, having heard of the plunder of the French by the Miamis, were all dispersed through the country in search of means for subsistence—having been unwilling, since that news, to take up the cause of these tribes against the Nadouaissioux; that they were grieved because Sieur Perrot had not gone to find them after that pillage, since they would have sacrificed themselves in order to secure the restitution of his goods; that they were going to send for all their people, so as to receive them on the shore of Ouiskonche, which they would not cross until everybody should arrive there. They said also that they had found the chief of the Miamis, with two of those Frenchmen who were to accompany them to the Nadouaissioux; this chief was urgently soliciting the Outagamis to march with the Miamis as they had promised, but the latter had replied that the Miamis could continue their course if they would not wait for the arrival of the French and the Outaouaks. The bad roads and the lack of provisions obliged the Outaouaks to remain [on the way] for some time; finally they reached the nearest cabins of the Outagamis, among whom they were well entertained. The chiefs of twenty-five [Outagami] cabins, and fifteen of the Kikabou cabins, becoming impatient because the Outaouaks did not arrive, had gone a little too far ahead, in order to gain Ouiskonch; the Miamis who met them constrained them to go to their camp, where they displayed little consideration for the newcomers. The latter sent in

haste a Saki and a Frenchman to urge the Outaouaks to hasten their arrival as soon as possible, saying that meanwhile they would try to divert the Miamis and prevent them from beginning the march.

Two or three Frenchmen set out at once, and at night reached the cabin of the Outagami chief, who immediately had their arrival made public. The Miamis promptly made their appearance there, and demanded, "Where are the other warriors?" On both sides deputies were sent to fix the place for the general rendezvous, which was at the entrance of a little river. The Miamis, who numbered five villages, desiring to break camp, sent out some men from each group to kindle fires, which was the signal of departure; they built five of these, abreast, the Outagamis two, and the Kikabous one. When these fires were kindled the call to break camp was uttered; all the women folded up the baggage, and gathered at the fires of their respective tribes, at which the men also assembled. All the people being ready, the war-chiefs (with their bags on their backs) began to march at the head, singing, making their invocations, and gesticulating; the warriors, who were on the wings, marched in battle array, abreast, and forming many ranks; the convoy for the women composed the main body, and a battalion of warriors formed the rear-guard. This march was made with order; some Frenchmen were detailed to go to meet the Outaouaks. The latter, having arrived in sight of the Miami camp, began to defile, and fired a volley of musketry. The Outagamis refused to return the salute to them; on the contrary, they sent word to the Miami camp to make no commotion, for fear of frightening their brothers, the Outaouaks – because the Outagamis feared lest the Miamis, already entertaining evil thoughts, might lay violent hands on them, under

pretext of receiving them as friends. The Outaouaks having made their camp, their chiefs entered the cabin of the chief of the Outagamis, with two guns, twelve kettles, and two collars made of round and long porcelain beads; but they sent to call the Miamis, without making them any present. They asked from the Outagamis permission to hunt on their lands, intending to devote themselves only to the beavers and [other] quadrupeds, as they had come under the protection of the French. The Outagamis divided their presents into three lots; they gave the largest to the Miamis, the second to the Kikabous, and reserved the smallest for themselves.

The Miamis did not show to the Outaouaks the resentment which they felt at the affront which they had just received. They assembled about three hundred warriors to perform their war-dances, and in these they chanted the funeral songs, in which they named the persons who had been slain by the Nadouaissioux. They should, according to the custom in war, make the round of the camp while singing and dancing; it was their design [while doing so] to kill at the same time all the dogs belonging to the Outaouaks, in order to make a war-feast with them. The Outagamis, fearing that they would go to this extreme, came to meet them, so as to prevent the Miamis from acting toward the Outaouaks as they had done in regard to the Outagami dogs. The Outaouaks had already placed themselves on the defensive; however, everything went off without a disturbance.

After this last people had ended their council, the Miamis assembled at night with the Fox Outagamis; they imagined that the French—[especially] two among them—had come only to prevent the Outagamis from

uniting with them. A war-chief, desiring to irritate his tribe against the Frenchmen, was urging his people to burn them; the report of this ran through the camp. An Outagami, hearing the discourse of this chief, went out and told the Miamis that after having eaten the Outagamis they would probably eat these two Frenchmen; he gave the alarm to the men of his tribe, who placed themselves under arms. Another Miami, addressing his people, said that it was absolutely necessary to burn them. All the night there was nothing but commotions on the part of the Miamis, who only longed for the moment to attack the Outaouaks—whom they called friends of the Sioux and the Iroquois who had eaten them. The Outagamis did not pay much attention to all these incivilities; their only endeavor was to follow the wishes of the Frenchmen. When the day had come, the Miamis beat the salute, and defiled in battle array, the Outagamis and the Kikabous remaining stock-still. The decision which the French advised the Outagamis to make was, to join their forces with the Miamis, saying: "Go with them; they mean to slay the Frenchmen who are in the country of the Nadouaissieux, without sparing the Sauteurs. Even though the latter may be your enemies, spare their lives; and prevent the Miamis from attacking them or insulting the French. Go, then, to assist them, rather than to wage war against the Nadouaissieux. If they engage in fighting, remain in the reserve force, and quit it only when the enemy shall take to flight." The old men of the Miamis had remained at the camp in order to know the final decision of the Outagamis; they came into the council cabin, where these Frenchmen were present. The eldest of them offered his calumet to one of the latter, who smoked it, and told the other that he had heard the

clamor of their speech-maker, who was inciting all the Miamis to burn his body so as to put it into the kettle; and had heard this man's brother, who said that it was necessary to lay violent hands on the Outaouaks whom the French had brought, although they had come to avenge the dead of the Miamis. He said that, since he found in them so little good sense and was aware of their misconduct, the French would abandon their enterprise, and would join the four other Frenchmen who had been furnished to accompany them into the Nadouaissieux country. "Eat," said this Frenchman to the old man, "eat the French who are among the Nadouaissieux, but thou wilt no sooner take them in thy teeth than we will make thee disgorge them." Then every one arose; and all the Outagamis and the Kikabous had their bundles tied up by the women, so as to go to join the Miamis in their camp—excepting the old men, and some people who were not very alert.

The first news that came after their departure was, that the Miamis had been defeated; that the Outagamis and the Kikabous had lost no men; and that the Outagamis had saved the Sauteurs and the French. Four of the Outagami youth arrived some days later, sent by the chiefs to give information of all that had occurred since the departure of the army. At the outset, they were heard to utter eight death-cries, but without saying whether they were Miamis or of some other tribe. A kettle was promptly set over the fire for them, and even before the meat was cooked they were set to eating. After they had satisfied their hunger, one of them spoke before the old men and some Frenchmen. He said:

"A chief of the Chikagons having died from sickness, the Miamis made no present to his body; but our chiefs, touched by this lack of feeling, brought some kettles to

cover it. The Miamis of Chikagon were so grateful for this that they told our chiefs that they would unite with them, to the prejudice of their allies—who paid them no attention when they were dying, even though they had come to avenge them. A Piouanguichias also died, a little farther on; we went to bury him, and made him presents; but the Miamis again did nothing. I tell you, old men, that these two tribes would have turned the war-clubs of the Miamis against us if we had undertaken to do the same by them. When we arrived at one of the arms of the Missisipi, eight Miamis who had gone out as scouts brought to the camp two Frenchmen who were coming from the Sauteur country; it was planned to burn them, but our warriors opposed this, loudly declaring that we had set out to wage war on the Nadouaissieux. They kept one of the prisoners, and sent back the other, with some Miamis, to the Sauteurs, who received them well. This Frenchman remained there only one day; on the next day ten Sauteurs and Outaouaks accompanied him to come after the Miamis, to whom they made a present of twelve kettles. Our people were displeased that the Sauteurs were not divided between them and us in the cabins, and that they had presented to the Miamis seven kettles, while the Kikabous and we received only five; but what we considered extraordinary was, that at night the Miamis came to find our chiefs with the kettles of the Sauteurs, and other goods which they had added to these, to invite us to eat these ambassadors with them. It is true that our chief immediately drew out a collar which a Frenchman had given to him, without our knowledge, by which he asked our chief not to attack his people who were among the Nadouaissieux, or the Sauteurs, or any of the allies of Onontio. This collar, I say, restrained us all. Then

they allowed the Sauteurs to go away; the latter pointed out the village of the Nadouaissioux, who had built a strong fort in order to take refuge in it in case of need. A part of the Miamis resolved to carry them away from it; but we also followed, so as to hold them back. The Oüaouyartanons and the Peoüanguichias, remembering the obligations which they were under to us for the care which we had taken of their dead, broke their camp, in order to thwart the designs of their allies. While they were making up their bundles, a young Sauteur arrived who had had some dispute with a Nadouaissioux; he said that he came to join our party; but a Miami immediately tomahawked him and cut off his scalp. This proceeding obliged us to pack our baggage and follow the Oüaouyartanons and the Peoüanguichias. The Miamis, seeing that they were not strong enough to attack the Nadouaissioux, broke camp as we had done, and followed us. At evening they concluded that it was necessary to go toward the Missisipi, where they would find more game than upon the road which they had so far taken. They sent forty of their warriors to the French fort, and imagined that they could enter it as they would one of our cabins. The dogs of the fort, discovering them, barked at them. The French, seeing men who were marching with hostile aspect, seized their arms and told them to advance no farther; the Miamis derided them, but the French fired over their heads and made them retire. The Miamis who had broken camp on the day after this detachment had set out took the same route as the latter. When we saw that they were going toward the French post we followed them, fearing lest they would go to make trouble for the French; the Oüaouyartanons and the Peoüanguichias refused to abandon us. We saw the arrival of the above-mentioned

[Miami] detachment, who as they came cried out that the French had fired on them; and by that we knew that they had attempted to take the French fort by surprise. This was enough to make our chiefs reproach the Miamis for trying to ruin the land and redden it with the blood of the French. The Oüaoüyartanons stoutly supported us; we declared to them that we would go to visit the French, and that we felt sure we would be well received. At the same time our young chief set out with forty warriors; on arriving at the fort, they called out to the Frenchmen, and the chief had no sooner told his name than three of those who had been plundered with Metaminens recognized him. Immediately they made our people enter, who had a hearty meal, and whom the French loaded with Indian corn and meat—also warning them to beware of the Miamis, who were planning treachery toward them. After they had eaten they came to join us at the camp, where they related the friendly reception which the French had given them; but when the Miamis saw that their design had been unmasked they acknowledged that they could no longer hope for any success—that Metaminens was against them, and that Heaven seconded him. They gave up, therefore, their design of going to attack the French, but that did not prevent them from going afterward to encamp in the vicinity of the fort; the French defended its approaches from them by volleys of musketry, and even defied them to come on to the attack, asking us to remain neutral. The chief of the Miamis, however, asked them to [let him] enter the fort alone, which was granted. He asked the French to inform the Nadouaïssioux that the Miamis were going to hunt, in order to make amends for the theft of merchandise which they had committed on the French; and to accompany them

to the Nadouaissioux village, in order to obtain their women and children whom the latter were holding as slaves. What happened? the French were simple enough to send this message, believing that this chief had spoken in good faith. The Miamis encamped meanwhile at a place two leagues below the fort, and sent three hundred warriors, with forty of our men, to go among the Nadouaissioux. The French, who had done their errands, heard on their return many gunshots; they saw plainly that they had been deceived, and immediately suspected that the Miamis were under the guidance of a slave who had recently escaped. The French hastened to find again the Nadouaissioux, who were abandoning their fort for lack of provisions. When they knew of the Miami expedition, they went back into the fort, and on the morrow at daybreak they were attacked; a Nadouaissioux went out with the calumet, in order to hold a parley, but a Miami shot him dead, and his men brought him back to the fort. The Miamis came against the fort to cut it away, with great intrepidity; but they were charged at so vigorously that they were compelled to abandon the attack with much loss of men. We all withdrew from the siege, and after making a general retreat we separated, five days later. Our chiefs have sent us ahead, to give you the detailed account of all that I have just related to you; they have remained to set the young men at hunting, and will arrive in a little while."

The conduct of the Outagamis on this occasion was altogether discreet: for the Outaouaks who were in those regions were not attacked by the Miamis (who were seeking a quarrel with them), the Sauteurs escaped falling into the hands of their enemies, the French profited by the warning that was given them to be on their guard,

and the Nadouaissieux were not worsted [in the fight]. The tribe, certain that Monsieur de Frontenac would be pleased at the services which they had just rendered him, sent him several chiefs, to whom he gave a most friendly reception. The Outaouaks, who were then at Michilimakinak, kept them there a fortnight, in order to entertain them. Everything seemed to turn to the advantage of the Colony, when an event occurred which was of infinite benefit to it; this was a great quarrel between the Iroquois and the Outaouaks, which resulted in overthrowing all the schemes of the former. After I have given an account of a battle that was fought on Lake Herier between these two peoples, I will also finish describing the disturbances which occurred among all those tribes.

## Chapter XXVII

Among the Outaouaks of Michilimakinak, who always joined with the Hurons in favor of the Iroquois, there were some chiefs who did not fail to support our cause manfully. One day, loud reproaches passed between the Hurons and our partisans, who told the former that Le Baron was, with impunity, deceiving Onontio with the protestations of friendship and alliance that he was again making to the governor, even while he was employing all sorts of stratagems to injure our allies; and that it was very well known that the Hurons intended to go with the Iroquois to Saint Joseph River to destroy the Miamis. On both sides there were long explanations. The Hurons acknowledged their design; but, as they felt piqued, they told the Outaouaks that if they would accompany them they would together attack the Iroquois, for whom they cared very little to show any consideration. They also said that, in order that the Outaouaks might not think that they intended to sacri-

fice them, they would give up their women and children to them, and the Outaoüaks should be masters of these in case there were any treachery; they departed, accordingly, in equal numbers. In the middle of Lake Herier they found three canoes of Sakis, who were seeking refuge from a defeat which they had suffered from the Iroquois—who had slain their chief, with two of his brothers and one of his cousins, while the Iroquois had lost on their side eight men. The Sakis joined the Hurons and Outaoüaks; they fired several gunshots, in order to notify the Iroquois [of their coming]; and, having descried a great cloud of smoke, they sent four men to reconnoiter, who marched through the woods. When they were on the shore, nearly where they could catch a glimpse of any one, they saw four men who were walking on the edge of the lake; they went back into the woods, from which they fired a volley at these Iroquois, and then immediately gained their own canoes. The Iroquois, who were at work making canoes of elm-bark (of which they had at the time only five made), numbered three hundred; they rushed into these, to attack the Outaoüaks, with such headlong haste that they broke asunder two of the canoes, and then went in pursuit with the three others; the first contained thirty men, the second twenty-five, and the third sixteen. The Hurons, the Sakis, and the Outaoüaks, who had a like number of men, saw that they were on the point of being captured, but rallied, and resolved to endure the first fire of their enemies. The war-chief of the Outaoüaks and a Huron were killed at the outset, but the others steadily advanced until they were close up to the Iroquois; then they fired their volley at the canoe of thirty men, of whom so many were killed that the dead bodies caused it to capsize, so that all the thirty perished—some by drowning, some by the war-club, some by arrows. The

canoe of twenty[-five] met the same fate, but five of the braves were made prisoners. The great chief of the Tsonnontouans was mortally wounded in this encounter; they tomahawked him, and carried away his scalp. At last these prisoners arrived at Michilimakinak, and they appeared deeply hurt because their people had been duped by the Hurons, whom they were regarding as their best friends; see in what manner they complained of it:

"The Hurons have killed us. Last autumn they invited us by collars to be on hand near the Saint Joseph River, where they were to assemble. They had promised to give us the village of the Miamis there to eat; and after this expedition they were to take us to Michilimakinak to deliver to us the Outaouaks, and even their own people who might be there. For this purpose our chiefs raised the war-party that you have seen; but the Hurons have betrayed us. Believe us, we are among your friends. We know well that it is the Pouteouatemis who have drawn you in with them to attack us, when you have defeated us, ten cabins in all. We do not blame you, but them; and we have never plotted against you." This defeat of the Iroquois confirmed the Hurons and all our allies on our side. [End of volume II.]

[Volume iv<sup>36</sup> contains four letters, which are occu-

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<sup>36</sup> La Potherie, before publishing his *Histoire*, desired for it the approval of Jacques Raudot, intendant of New France during 1705-1711; the latter requested one Father Bobé—a secular priest, who was greatly interested in the Canadian colony, and wrote various memoirs regarding its affairs—to read the manuscript and give him an opinion as to its quality and merit. At the end of vol. iv of the *Histoire* appears a letter from Bobé to Raudot, making the desired report on the book, which this priest warmly commends. The following passages in the letter are of special interest, as indicating La Potherie's methods, and his sources of information:

"Having read it very attentively, I have been surprised that it has so well fulfilled a project which, as it seemed to me, was very difficult to carry out successfully. He certainly must have taken much pains to inform himself of all that was necessary to disentangle the numerous intrigues of so many savage

pied with the relations existing between the French and Iroquois—and, more or less, those of the western tribes

peoples, in relation to both their own interests and those of the French. He has assured me that after he had personally obtained a knowledge of the government of Canada in detail—of which he has written a history, which he has had the honor of dedicating to his royal Highness Monseigneur the Duc d'Orleans—he had intended to penetrate [the wilderness] to a distance six hundred leagues beyond; but as his health and his occupations had not permitted him to go through that vast extent of territory, he had contented himself with forming friendships with most of the prominent chiefs of the peoples allied with New France who came down to Montreal every year to conduct their trade in peltries. At the outset, he had made a plan of the present history; he has therefore had no trouble, in all the conversations that he has held with them, in gaining a knowledge of their manners, their laws, their customs, their maxims, and of all the events of special importance which have occurred among them.

"Sieur Joliet has contributed not a little to this end; for during the lessons in geometry which he gave to the author he informed him of all that he had seen and known among those peoples. The Jesuit fathers, who were excellent friends of his, have been very helpful to him. Sieur Perrot, who is the principal actor in all that has occurred among those peoples during more than forty years, has given the author the fullest information, and with the utmost exactness, regarding all that he narrates. Monsieur de la Potherie, to whom I expressed my surprise that he had been able to obtain so clear a knowledge of so great a number of facts, and reduce to order so many matters that were so entangled, avowed to me that all these persons had been of the utmost assistance to him. He said that he questioned them in order [of events], in accordance with his plan [for the book], and that he immediately set down in writing what the savages had told him, and then he read to them these notes in order to make proper corrections therein; and that it was by these careful means that he escaped from the labyrinth.

"I assure you, Monsieur, that I have read this manuscript with pleasure; and that I have learned from it things which I had not found in Lahontan, in Father Hennepin, or in all the others who have written about New France. I believe that every one will read it with the same satisfaction. . . In it we shall see the attachment of all those peoples for the French nation; and we shall admire the prudence and adroitness of the French in managing the minds of those savages, and retaining them in alliance with us despite all the intrigues of the English, and of their emissaries the Iroquois—who exerted every effort to render them our enemies—or in persuading them to wage war against those nations, and by that means to secure them in their own interests. We shall be surprised at the boldness and intrepidity of the French who lived among those barbarians, who were continually threatening to burn them at the stake or to murder them. We shall recognize that those peoples whom we treat as savages are very brave, capable leaders, good soldiers, very discreet and subtle politicians, shrewd, given to dissimulation, understanding perfectly their own interests, and knowing well how to carry out their purposes. In

with both peoples—during the years 1695-1701. The record is mainly one of hostilities with the Iroquois (who are, as usual, fierce and treacherous), varied by negotiations for peace, which is finally concluded in the summer of 1701. Much space is given to detailed reports of the various conferences held by Frontenac and his successor Callières with the deputations of Indians who come to Quebec to settle their affairs with the governor; and the speeches on both sides are given *in extenso*. At one of these (in 1695) a Sioux chief named Tioskatin participated; he was the first of his tribe to visit Canada, conducted thither by Pierre C. La Sueur, who afterward made explorations on the Upper Mississippi. At the great conference of all the tribes held at Montreal, beginning July 25, 1701, the most noted of their chiefs were present and made speeches—including the Ottawa Outoutaga (also known as Le Talon, and as Jean le Blanc); Chingouessi, another Ottawa; the Huron Le Rat; Ounanguicé, a Potawatomi, who spoke for all the Wisconsin tribes; Quarante-Sols, a Huron; Chichikatalo, a Miami; Noro (or “the Porcupine”), of the Outagamis; Ouabangué, head of the Chippewas of the Sault; Tekaneot, Tahartakout, and Aouenano, from the various Iroquois tribes. A general peace was concluded, after long discussion and much giving of presents, on August 7—an event which crowned the long efforts of Frontenac to end the Iroquois Wars, which had so long wasted the resources and population of the French settlements, paralyzed their industries, and interrupted the trade with the Indians on which almost their life depended. This peace was negotiated by Callières, Frontenac having died on Nov. 28, 1698.—ED.]

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short, the French and the English have need of all their cleverness and intellect to deal with the savages.”

## MEMOIRS RELATING TO THE SAUK AND FOXES

Letter to Reverend Dr. Jedidiah Morse,  
by Major Morrell Marston, U.S.A.,  
commanding at Fort Armstrong, Ill.;  
November, 1820.

From original manuscript in the library of the  
Wisconsin Historical Society.

“Account of the Manners and Customs of  
the Sauk and Fox nations of Indians  
Traditions.” A report on this subject,  
sent to General William Clark, Super-  
intendent of Indian Affairs, by Thomas  
Forsyth, Indian agent for the U.S. Gov-  
ernment; St. Louis, January 15, 1827.

From the original and hitherto unpublished  
manuscript in the library of the Wisconsin His-  
torical Society.



## Letter of Major Marston to Reverend Doctor Morse

Fort Armstrong, November, 1820.

SIR: Your letter dated "Mackinaw, June 20, 1820," requesting me to give you the *names* of the Indian tribes around me within as large a circle as my information can be extended with convenience and accuracy—the extent of the territories they respectively occupy, with the nature of their soil and climate—their mode of life, customs, laws and political institutions—the talents and character of their chiefs and other principal and influential men, and their disposition in respect to the introduction and promotion among them, of education and civilisation; what improvements in the present system of Indian trade could in my opinion be made, which would render this commercial intercourse with them more conducive to the promotion of peace between them and us, and contribute more efficiently to the improvement of their moral condition; together with a number of particular questions to be put to the Indians for their answers or to be otherwise answered according to circumstances, came to hand in due time and would have been answered immediately, had it been in my power to have done so as fully as I wished.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Early in 1820 Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D.D., held commissions from the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, and from the Northern Missionary Society of New York, to visit the Indian tribes of the United States and ascertain their condition, and devise measures for their benefit and advancement. He suggested to the United States government the desirability of its coöperation in this undertaking, and was authorized to carry it out as an accredited agent of the government, which paid his expenses and

Soon after the receipt of your communication, I invited four of the principal chiefs of the Sauk and Fox nations to my quarters, with a view of gaining all the information wished or expected from them, three of whom accordingly attended, when I made known to them that you as an agent of the President had requested certain information relating to their two nations, which I hoped they would freely communicate to the best of their knowledge and belief, as their great father the President was anxious to be made acquainted with their situation in order to be enabled to relieve their wants and give them such advice from time to time as they might need. They replied, that they were willing and ready to communicate all the information in their power to give relative to their two nations; but I soon found that when the questions were put to them they became suspicious and unwilling to answer to them, and that

directed him to make a report of his work in this field; this appears from the letter written to him by the then secretary of war, J. C. Calhoun, dated Feb. 7, 1820. He left New Haven on May 10 following, and returned home on August 30, this period having been devoted to visiting the Indian tribes as far west as Detroit, Mackinaw, and Green Bay. His report to the war department, dated November, 1821, was published at New Haven in 1822, under the title "A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States, on Indian Affairs, comprising a narrative of a tour performed in the summer of 1820, under a commission from the President of the United States, for the purpose of ascertaining, for the use of the Government, the actual state of the Indian Tribes in our country." The greater part of this book is in the form of appendices, in which Dr. Morse incorporated a vast mass of information regarding the Indian tribes at that time, including reports, interviews, etc., from Indian agents, missionaries, army officers, traders, Indian chiefs, and others. He also gives statistical tables of the tribes and their population, residence, etc.; the annuities paid to them by the government; the lands purchased from them; and schools established among them. At the end of the report proper, Dr. Morse presents his views as to the policy which the government should adopt in dealing with the Indians, with plans for civilizing and educating them, and for the conduct of the Indian trade. The report by Major Marston (which the present editor has reproduced from that officer's original manuscript) was printed in Dr. Morse's report (pages 120-140), with some slight editorial changes intended to give it better form for publication — mainly in spelling, the correct form of sentences, etc. — ED.

many of their answers were evasive and foreign to the questions.<sup>38</sup> Such information, however, I was able to obtain, by putting your questions to them follows:

*Question* to Mas-co, a Sauk chief—What is the name of your nation? *Answer*—Since we can remember we have never had any other name than Saukie or Saukieuck.<sup>39</sup>

*Question* to Mas-co—What its original name? *Answer*—Since the Great Spirit made us we have had that name and no other.

*Question* to Mas-co—What the names by which it has been known among Europeans? *Answer*—The French called us by that name; they were the first white people

<sup>38</sup> Gov. Ninian Edwards of Illinois wrote to Thomas Forsyth (from Kaskaskia, Jan. 28, 1813): "The truth is that all the different tribes of Indians view our increase of population and approximation to their villages and hunting grounds with a jealous eye, are predisposed to hostility and are restrained only by fear from committing aggressions. I make no calculations upon their friendship, nor upon anything else but the terror with which our measures may inspire them and therefore I am now and long have been opposed to temporizing with them. I am very glad you contradicted the report of my having sent a Pipe, etc., to the Pottowattomies, for nothing can be more false than that report. There is in my opinion only one of two courses that ought to be pursued with the Sacs. If there be just grounds to believe that a part of them are friendly they should be brought into the interior of the country, furnished with provisions, and some ground to make their sweet corn, etc., which they would want when they should retire to their own country. This proposition wd test their sincerity—if they accepted it, it would be advantageous to us by withdrawing so much force from the hostile confederacy whilst we are waging war against it—if they refused I wd consider them all as enemies and treat them accordingly, making the whole tribe responsible for the conduct of all its members. No other plan of separating the hostile from the friendly part or discriminating between them can succeed. . . The Kickapoos are among the Sacs—and most certainly if they wish to harbor our enemies they can not be considered nor ought they to be treated as our friends—under the circumstances the only line I shall prescribe to them will be to keep out of the way of my rangers. I should however be glad to send them a talk first requiring them to drive the Kickapoos from among them—and I wish to procure some person to go on this business." (*Forsyth Papers*, vol. i, doc. 13.)—ED.

<sup>39</sup> Saukie is the singular and Saukieuck the plural: the plural number of most names in the Sauk and Fox language is formed by the addition of the syllable *uck*.—MARSTON.

we had ever seen; since, the white people call us Sauks.

*Question* to Wah-bal-lo<sup>40</sup> the principal chief of the Fox nation—What is the name of your nation? *Answer*—Mus-quak-kie or Mus-quak-kie-uck.

*Question* to Wah-bal-lo—What its original name? *Answer*—Since the Great Spirit made us we have had that name and no other.

*Question* to Wah-bal-lo—What the names by which it has been known among Europeans? *Answer*—The French called us Renards, and since, the white people have called us Foxes.

*Question*—Are any portion of your tribes scattered in other parts? *Answer*—Yes.

*Question*—Where? *Answer*—There are some of our people on the Missouri, some near Fort Edwards<sup>41</sup> and some among the Pottawattanies.

*Question*—To what nations are you related by language? *Answer*—The Sauk, Fox and Kickapoo nations are related by language.

*Question*—Manners and customs? *Answer*—The Sauk, Fox and Kickapoo's manners and customs are alike except those who have had intercourse with the whites.

One of the chiefs added that the Shawnees descended from the Sauk nation: that at a bears-feast a chief took the feet of the animal for his portion who was not entitled to them (which were esteemed the greatest luxury) and that a quarrel ensued, in consequence of which he

<sup>40</sup> Waa-pa-laa, Wah-bal-lo, Wapello, Waupella, are all variants of the same name, which means "He who is painted white." This chief was a signer of four treaties (1822 to 1836); he took no part in the Black Hawk War, but seems to have been a prisoner with Black Hawk in 1832. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. v, 305, and vol. x, 154, 217. — Ed.

<sup>41</sup> Fort Edwards was on the east side of the Mississippi (a little above the mouth of Des Moines River), fifty miles above Quincy, Ill. In 1822 Marston was in command of this fort. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. vi, 190, 273-279. — Ed.



WAA-PA-LAA (Fox)



and his band withdrew and have ever since been called the Shawnee nation.

They acknowledge that the Sauks, Foxes, Kickapoos and Iowas are in close alliance, but observed that the reason for being in alliance with the Iowas was, because they were a bad people, and therefore it was better to have their friendship than enmity.

*Question*—With what tribes can you converse, and what is the common language in which you converse with them? *Answer*—There are only three nations with which we can [talk,] the Sauk, Fox and Kickapoo nations, by being with [any] other nation we might learn their language, but if we [don't] see them how can we speak to them or they to us? Is [it] not the same with you white people?

*Question*—What tribe do you call Grandfather? *Answer*—The Delawares call us and all other Indians Grandchildren, and we in return call them Grandfather; but we know of no relationship subsisting between them and us.

*Question*—What tribes are Grandchildren? *Answer*—There are no tribes or other nations we call grandchildren.

*Question*—Where is the great council fire for all the tribes connected with your own tribes? *Answer*—We have no particular place, when we have any business to transact it is done at some one of our villages.

*Question*—Do you believe that the soul lives after the body is dead? *Answer*—How should we know, none of our people who have died, have ever returned to inform us.

No other questions were put to the chiefs as they appeared to be determined to give no further information. In conversation with one of them afterwards upon the

subject, they give as a reason for declining to answer the remainder of the questions, that Gov<sup>r</sup> Clark<sup>42</sup> had not treated them with that attention they were entitled to when last at S<sup>t</sup> Louis. This plea however, was probably without foundation. It is the character of these people to conceal as much as possible their history, religion and customs from the whites, it is only when they are off their guard that any thing upon these subjects can be obtained from them.

I have since been informed by some of the old men of the two nations that the Sauk and Fox nations emigrated from a great distance below Detroit and established themselves at a place called Saganaw<sup>43</sup> in Michigan Territory, that they have since built villages and lived on the Fox River of the Illenois, at Mil-wah-kee<sup>44</sup> near Lake Michigan, on the Fox River of Green Bay and on the Ouesconsen: that about fifty years since they removed to this vicinity, where they lived for some time, and then went down to the Iowa River and built large villages; that the principal part of both nations

<sup>42</sup> Referring to Gen. William Clark, companion of Meriwether Lewis in their famous exploring expedition to the Pacific coast in 1803-1806. He was born on Aug. 1, 1770, near Charlottesville, Va.; and in 1784 his family removed to the vicinity of Louisville, Ky. From his nineteenth year until 1796, Clark was in the United States military service, and became a brave and able officer. During the period from July, 1803, to September, 1806, Clark was engaged in the famous expedition to the Pacific coast under direction of Meriwether Lewis and himself. Soon after his return (March, 1807) Clark was made superintendent of Indian affairs and brigadier-general of militia. From 1813 to 1820 he was governor of Missouri, and during the next two years was again superintendent of Indian affairs. In 1822 he was appointed surveyor-general for Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas Territory. Clark died at St. Louis, Sept. 1, 1838, aged sixty-nine. He was twice married, and left six children. See detailed account of his life in Thwaites's *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (N.Y., 1904), vol. i, pp. xxvii-xxxiii, liv.—ED.

<sup>43</sup> *Saganaw* is probably derived from *Sau-kie-nock* (Saukie-town).

— MARSTON.

<sup>44</sup> *Milwahkee* is said to be derived from *Man-na-wah-kee* (good land).

— MARSTON.

remained on this river until about sixteen years ago, when they returned to their present situation. This is all the information I have been able to collect from themselves relating to the rise and progress of their two nations. At present their villages are situated on a point of land formed by the junction of the Rock and Mifsissippi Rivers, which they call *Sen-i-se-po Ke-be-sau-kee* (Rock River Peninsula) this land as well as all they ever claimed on the east side of the Mifsissippi was sold by them to our government in 1805. The agents of government have been very desirous for some time to effect their removal, but they appear unwilling to leave it.

I recently spoke of one of the principal Fox chiefs upon this subject and he replied that their people were not willing to leave Ke-be-sau-kee in consequence of a great number of their chiefs and friends being buried there, but that *he* wished them to remove, as they would do much better to be farther from the Mifsissippi where they would have less intercourse with the whites. They claim a large tract of country on the west of the Mifsissippi: it commences at the mouth of the upper Iowa River, which is above Prairie du Chien and follows the Mifsissippi down as far as Des Moine River and extending back towards the Mifsouri as far as the dividing ridge, and some of them say quite to that River—a large proportion of this tract is said to be high prairie; that part of it which lies in the vicinity of the Iowa and Des Moine Rivers is said to be valuable; their hunting grounds are on the head waters of these rivers, and are considered the best in any part of the Mifsissippi country. I have not been able to ascertain the extent of Territory claimed by any other nations.

The Sauk village is situated on the bank of the Rock

River and about two miles from its mouth, and contains [blank in Ms.] lodges, the principal Fox village is on the bank of the Mifsissippi opposite Fort Armstrong, it contains thirty five permanent lodges. There is also a small Sauk village of five or six lodges on the left bank of the Mifsissippi near the mouth of des Moine and below Fort Edwards, and a Fox village near the lead mines (about hundred miles above this place) of about twenty lodges, and another near the mouth of the Wapsipinica [River]<sup>45</sup> of about ten lodges. The Sauk and Fox nations according to their own account, which I believe to be nearly correct, can muster eight hundred warriors, and including their old men, women and children, I think they do not fall short of five thousand souls; of this number about two fifths are Foxes, but they are so much mixed by intermarries and living at each others villages, it would be difficult to ascertain the proportion of each with any great precision. These two nations have the reputation of being better hunters than any other that are to be found inhabiting the borders of either the Mifsouri or Mifsissippi.

They leave their villages as soon as their corn, beans, etc., is ripe and taken care of, and their traders arrive and give out their credits (or their outfits on credit—Morse) and go to their wintering grounds; it being previously determined on in council what particular ground each party shall hunt on. The old men, women,

<sup>45</sup> *Wap-si-pin-i-ca*. So called from a root of that name which is found in great plenty on its shores and which they use as a substitute for bread.

— MARSTON.

*Wapsipinica* (the same as *wâpisiipinik*, plural of *wâpisiipin*, meaning "swan-root") is the tuber of the arrowhead (*Sagittaria variabilis*). The tubers are generally as large as hens' eggs, and are greatly relished when raw; but they have a bitter milky juice, not agreeable to the palates of civilized men. This, however, is destroyed by boiling, and the roots are thus rendered sweet and palatable. They afford nourishment to the swans and other aquatic birds that congregate in great numbers about the lakes of the northwest. — WM. R. GERARD.

and children embark in canoes, the young men go by land with their horses; on their arrival they immediately commence their winter's hunt, which last about three months. Their traders follow them and establish themselves at convenient places in order to collect their dues and supply them with such goods as they need. In a favorable season most of these Indians are able not only to pay their traders, and will supply themselves and families with blankets,<sup>46</sup> strouding, amunition, etc., during

<sup>46</sup> "In the popular mind the North American Indian is everywhere associated with the robe or the blanket. The former was the whole hide of a large mammal made soft and pliable by much dressing; or pelts of foxes, wolves, and such creatures were sewed together; or bird, rabbit, or other tender skins were cut into ribbons, which were twisted or woven. The latter were manufactured by basketry processes from wool, hair, fur, feathers, down, bark, cotton, etc., and had many and various functions. They were worn like a toga as protection from the weather, and, in the best examples, were conspicuous in wedding and other ceremonies; in the night they were both bed and covering; for the home they served for hangings, partitions, doors, awnings, or sunshades; the women dried fruit on them, made vehicles and cradles of them for their babies, and receptacles for a thousand things and burdens; they even then exhausted their patience and skill on them, producing their finest art work in weaving and embroidery; finally, the blanket became a standard of value and a primitive mechanism of commerce. . . . After the advent of the whites the blanket leaped into sudden prominence with tribes that had no weaving and had previously worn robes, the preparation of which was most exhausting. The European was not slow in observing a widespread want and in supplying the demand. When furs became scarcer blankets were in greater demand everywhere as articles of trade and standards of value. Indeed, in 1831 a home plant was established in Buffalo for the manufacture of what was called the Mackinaw blanket. . . . In our system of educating them, those tribes that were unwilling to adopt modern dress were called 'blanket Indians.'" The manufacture of blankets still continues among some of the southwestern tribes, and many of their products are highly valued by white people.—OTIS T. MASON and WALTER HOUGH, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

R. R. Elliott says (*U.S. Cath. Hist. Mag.*, vol. iv, 312): "Blankets marked with 'points' were formerly manufactured in Europe especially for the north-western American trade, and during the present century were distinguished commercially as 'Mackinac blankets.' They were made of good, honest wool, half-inch thick, with two black stripes at each end. The size was marked by a black line four inches long and about half an inch wide, woven in a corner of the blanket." Strouding is defined by the *Standard Dictionary* as "a coarse, warm cloth or blanketing, formerly used in the Indian trade." A blanket made

the winter, but to leave considerable of the proceeds of their hunt on hand; the surplus which generally consists of the most valuable peltries, such as beaver, otter, etc., they take home with them to their Villages, and dispose of for such articles as they may find necessary. In the winter of 1819-1820 these two nations had five traders. This number of traders employed nine clerks and interpreters, with annual salaries of from two hundred to twelve hundred dollars each (the average about four hundred dollars), and forty-three labourers whose pay was from one hundred to two hundred dollars each per annum. These traders including the peltries received at the United States factory<sup>47</sup> near Fort Edwards, col-

of this goods was called a "stroud." The name is said to be derived from a place in Gloucestershire, Eng., named Stroud. — Ed.

<sup>47</sup> During the eighteenth century "trade was mostly by barter or in the currency of the colonies or the government. The employment of liquor to stimulate trade began with the earliest venture and was more and more used as trade increased. The earnest protests of Indian chiefs and leaders and of philanthropic persons of the white race were of no avail, and not until the United States government prohibited the sale of intoxicants was there any stay to the demoralizing custom. Smuggling of alcohol was resorted to, for the companies declared that 'without liquor we cannot compete in trade.' To protect the Indians from the evil effects of intoxicants and to insure them a fair return for their pelts, at the suggestion of President Washington the act of April 18, 1796, authorized the establishment of trading houses under the immediate direction of the president. In 1806 the office of Superintendent of Indian Trade was created, with headquarters at Georgetown, D.C." In 1810 there were fourteen of these trading establishments, among them the following: At Ft. Wayne, on the Miami of the Lakes, Indiana T.; at Detroit, Michigan T.; at Belle Fontaine, mouth of the Missouri, Louisiana T.; at Chicago, on L. Michigan, Indiana T.; at Sandusky, L. Erie, Ohio; at the island of Michilimackinac, L. Huron, Michigan T.; at Ft. Osage, on the Missouri, Louisiana T.; at Ft. Madison, on the upper Mississippi, Louisiana T. "At that time there were few factories in the country where goods required for the Indian trade could be made, and, as the government houses were restricted to articles of domestic manufacture, their trade was at a disadvantage, notwithstanding their goods were offered at about cost price, for the Indian preferred the better quality of English cloth and the surreptitiously supplied liquor. Finally the opposition of private traders secured the passage of the act of May 6, 1822, abolishing the government trading houses, and thus 'a system fraught with possibilities of great good to the Indian' came to an end. The official records

lected of the Sauk and Fox Indians during this season nine hundred and eighty packs.

They consisted of 2760 beaver skins; 922 Otter; 13,440 Raccoon; 12,900 Musk Rat skins; 500 Mink; 200 Wildcat; 680 Bear skins; 28,680 Deer; whole number—60,082. The estimated value of which is fifty eight thousand and eight hundred dollars.

The quantity of tallow presumed to be collected from the Deer is 286,800 pounds. The traders also collected during the same time from these savages at least: 3,000 lbs. of feathers; 1,000 lbs. of bees wax.

They return to their villages in the month of April and after putting their lodges in order, commence preparing the ground to receive the seed. The number of acres cultivated by that part of the two nations who reside at their villages in this vicinity is supposed to be upwards of three hundred. They usually raise from seven to eight thousand bushels of corn, besides beans, pumpkins, melons, etc. About one thousand bushels of the corn they annually sell to traders and others. The remainder (except about five bushels for each family, which is taken along with them) they put into bags, and bury in holes dug in the ground for their use in the Spring and Summer.

The labor of agriculture is confined principally to the women, and this is done altogether with the hoe.<sup>48</sup>

show that until near the close of its career, in spite of the obstacles it had to contend with and the losses growing out of the War of 1812, the government trade was self-sustaining.”—ALICE C. FLETCHER, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

See Draper's "Fur Trade and Factory System at Green Bay, 1816-21," with sketch of the factory there, Matthew Irwin, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. vii, 269-288; F. J. Turner's "Character and Influence of the Indian Trade in Wisconsin," in *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, vol. ix (1891), 543-615; H. M. Chittenden's *American Fur Trade of the Far West* (N.Y., 1902); C. Larpentour's *Fur Trade on the Upper Missouri, 1833-1872* (N.Y., 1898).—Ed.

<sup>48</sup> There has been a widely prevalent popular notion that before and after the coming of Europeans to America nearly all the Indians north of Mexico

In June the greatest part of the young men go out on a summer hunt, and return in August. While they are absent the old men and women are collecting rushes for mats, and bark to make into bags for their corn, etc.

The women usually make about three hundred floor were virtually nomads, and hence practiced agriculture to a very limited extent. But this is certainly a misconception regarding most of the tribes in the temperate regions; for the earlier writers "almost without exception notice the fact that the Indians were generally found, from the border of the western plains to the Atlantic, dwelling in settled villages and cultivating the soil." Moreover, the early white colonists in all the European settlements "depended at first very largely for subsistence on the products of Indian cultivation." Of these, Indian corn was the chief and universal staple, and according to Brinton (*Myths of the New World*, 22) "was found in cultivation from the southern extremity of Chile to the 50th parallel of north latitude." The amount of corn destroyed by Denonville in his expedition of 1687 against the Iroquois was estimated at 1,000,000 bushels. "If we are indebted to Indians for the maize, without which the peopling of America would probably have been delayed for a century, it is also from them that the whites learned the methods of planting, storing, and using it. . . . Beans, squashes, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, tobacco, gourds, and the sunflower were also cultivated to some extent, especially in what are now the Southern States," and Coronado even found the Indians of New Mexico cultivating cotton. Among those southwestern tribes irrigation was practiced by the natives before white men came to America; and some of the eastern tribes used fertilizers on their land. Primitive tools for cultivating the soil were made of stone or wood, and sometimes sharp shells or flat bones were fastened into wooden handles for this purpose. "It was a general custom to burn over the ground before planting, in order to free it from weeds and rubbish. In the forest region patches were cleared by girdling the trees, thus causing them to die, and afterward burning them down." As a rule, the field work was done by the women; later, as the tribes became more or less civilized, this work was shared by the men. "Though the Indians as a rule have been somewhat slow in adopting the plants and methods introduced by the whites, this has not been wholly because of their dislike of labor, but in some cases has been due largely to their removals by the government and to the unproductiveness of the soil of many of the reservations assigned them. Where tribes or portions of tribes, as parts of the Cherokee and Iroquois, were allowed to remain in their original territory, they were not slow in bringing into use the introduced plants and farming methods of the whites, the fruit trees, live stock, plows, etc."

—CYRUS THOMAS, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

See B. H. Hibbard's "Indian Agriculture in Southern Wisconsin," in *Proceedings of Wisconsin Historical Society*, 1904, pp. 145-155; and C. E. Brown's "Wisconsin Garden Beds," in *Wis. Archeologist*, vol. viii, no. 3, 97-105. See references to *Wis. Hist. Colls.* in note 254 to this book, for mention of lead mining by Indians. — Ed.

mats every summer; these mats are as handsome and as durable as those made abroad. The twine which connects the rushes together is made either of balswood bark after being boiled and hammered, or the bark of the nettle; the women twist or spin it by rolling it on the leg with the hand. Those of the able bodied men who do not go out to hunt are employed in digging and smelting lead at the mines on the Mississippi: in this business a part of the women are also employed, from four to five hundred thousand weight of this mineral is dug by them during a season: the loss in smelting of which is about 25 p<sup>r</sup> cent; most of it however is disposed of by them in the state that it is dug out of the mine, at about two dollars p<sup>r</sup> hundred.

I now proceed to give such further information as a year's residence in the vicinity of the Sauk, Fox, and a part of the Kickapoo nations (about two hundred souls of which built a village last season near the mouth of Rock River) and considerable intercourse with several other nations has enabled me to collect.

In the first place it is no more than justice for me to acknowledge that I am greatly indebted for much of the information contained in this letter to Thomas Forsyth Esq<sup>r</sup> Indian Agent, Mr. George Davenport, and Dr. Muir<sup>49</sup> Indian traders; from the first mentioned gentleman I am principally indebted for an account of the

<sup>49</sup> Dr. Muir was a physician, a Scotchman, educated at Edinburgh; he came to this country, and in 1814-1815 was connected with the U.S. army. At this time some Indians conspired to kill him, but his life was saved by a young Sauk girl. In gratitude for this he took her as his wife, and settled in Galena, where he had several children by her. Afterward, he was one of the first settlers of Keokuk, Ia., where he engaged in the Indian trade. After his death, his family joined the Indians.—L. C. DRAPER, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. ii, 224.

The Blondeau here mentioned was evidently Maurice, son of Nicholas Blondeau and a Fox woman; they resided at Portage des Sioux. Maurice was born about 1780, and died probably near 1830; he married a Sauk half-breed woman and had two children.—ED.

manners and customs of the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Pottawattamie nations, which are similar, if not the same as those of the Sauks, Foxes, and Kickapoos. In addition to the information furnished by these gentlemen, I have long been in expectation of receiving from Mr. Blondeau late a Sub. I. Agent and a man of intelligence in the religion, manners, and customs of the Sauk and Fox nations; he was born with the Sauks, his mother being a woman of that nation, and is probably more competent to give a correct account of them than any other man; this however, I have been disappointed as yet in receiving; the expectation of receiving this document has been the principal cause of delay in answering your communication.

Among your queries are the following.—What are your terms for father, mother, Heaven, Earth; the pronouns *I, thou, he*? In what manner do you form the genitive case and plural number? How do you distinguish present, past and future time?

In the Sauk tongue: *No-sah*, is my father; *Co-sah*, your father; *Oz-son*, his father; *Na-ke-ah*, is my mother; *Ke-ke-ah*, your mother; *O-chan-en-e*, his mother; Heaven is *che-pah-nock*; Earth, *Ar-kee*; I is *Neen*; thou, *keen*; you (in the plural), *Keen-a-wa*; he, *Ween*; us, *Ne-non*; they, *We-ne-wa*. I have not been able to ascertain the manner they form the genitive case. The plural number of most nouns is formed by the addition of the syllable *uck* as *Sau-kie*, *Sau-kie-uck*. The plural of personal pronouns is generally formed by the addition of the syllable *wah*.

The name of the principal chief of the Sauks is *Nannah-que*, he is about forty years of age, rather small in stature, unassuming in his deportment, and disposed to cultivate the friendship of the whites; but he does not

appear to possess any extraordinary capacity. The two next chiefs in rank are *Mus-ke-ta-bah* (red head) and *Mas-co*; the latter is a man of considerable intelligence but rather old, and too fond of whiskey to have much influence with his nation. These chiefs are all decidedly opposed to a change of their condition. About a year since this nation met with a heavy loss in the death of *Mo-ne-to-mack*, the greatest chief that they have had for many years. Among other things which he contemplated accomplishing for the good of his people, was to have their lands surveyed and laid off into tracts for each family or tribe. He has left a son, but as yet he is too young to assume any authority.

The principal chief of the Fox nation is *Wah-bal-lo*; he appears to be about thirty. He is a man of considerable capacity and very independent in his feelings, but rather unambitious and indolent. The second chief of this nation is *Ty-ee-ma* (Strawberry); he is about forty. This man seems to be more intelligent than any other to be found either among the Foxes or Sauks, but he is extremely unwilling to communicate any thing relative to the history, manners and customs of his people. He has a variety of maps of different parts of the world and appears to be desirous of gaining geographical information; but is greatly attached to the savage state. I have frequently endeavored to draw from him his opinion with regard to a change of their condition from the savage to the civilised state. He one day informed me when conversing upon this subject, that the Great Spirit had put Indians on the earth to hunt and gain a living in the wilderness; that he always found that when any of their people departed from this mode of life, by attempting to learn to read, write and live as white people do, the Great Spirit was displeased, and they soon died; he con-

cluded by observing that when the Great Spirit made them he gave them their *medicine bag* and they intended to keep it.

I have not had an opportunity of becoming much acquainted with that part of the Kickapoo nation living in this vicinity. There are two principal chiefs among them, *Pah-moi-tah-mah* (the swan that cries) and *Pecan* (the Nut) the former is an old man; the latter appears to be about forty; this nation has had considerable intercourse with the whites, but they do not appear to have profited much from it. They appear to be more apt to learn and practice their vices, than their virtues.

The males of each nation of the Sauks and Foxes are divided into two grand divisions, called *kish-co-qua* and *osh-kosh*: to each there is a head called, *war chief*. As soon as the first male child of a family is born he is arranged to the first band, and when a second is born to the second band, and so on.<sup>50</sup>

The name of the Chief of the first band of Sauks, is

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<sup>50</sup> "There is abundant evidence that the military code was as carefully developed as the social system among most of the tribes north of Mexico. . . East of the Mississippi, where the clan system was dominant, the chief military functions of leadership, declaration, and perhaps conclusion of war, seem to have been hereditary in certain clans, as the Bear clan of the Mohawk and Chippewa, and the Wolf or Munsee division of the Delawares. It is probable that if their history were known it would be found that most of the Indian leaders in the colonial and other early Indian wars were actually the chiefs of the war clans or military societies of their respective tribes. . . Among the confederated Sauk and Foxes, according to McKenney and Hall, nearly all the men of the two tribes were organized into two war societies which contested against each other in all races or friendly athletic games and were distinguished by different cut of hair, costume, and dances. . . Throughout the plains from north to south there existed a military organization so similar among the various tribes as to suggest a common origin, although with patriotic pride each tribe claimed it as its own." In these societies (four to twelve in each tribe) were enrolled practically all the males from boys of ten years old to the old men retired from active service. "Each society had its own dance, songs, ceremonial costume, and insignia, besides special tabus and obligations. . . At all tribal assemblies, ceremonial hunts, and on great war expeditions, the various societies took charge of the routine details and

*Ke-o-kuck*; when they go to war and on all public occasions, his band is always painted white, with pipe clay. The name of the second war chief is *Na-cal-a-quoik*: his band is painted black. Each of these chiefs is entitled to one or two aid-de-camps, selected by themselves from among the braves of their nation, who generally accompany them on all public occasions and whenever they go abroad. These two chiefs were raised to their present rank in consequence of their success in opposing the wishes of the majority of the nation to flee from their village on the approach of a body of American troops during the late war; they finally persuaded their nation to remain on the condition of their engaging to take the command and sustain their position. Our troops from some cause or other did not attack them, and they of course remained unmolested. In addition to these, there are a great number of petty war chiefs or partizans, who frequently head small parties of volunteers and go against their enemies; they are generally those who have lost some near relative by the enemy. An Indian intending to go to war will commence by blacking his face, permitting his hair to grow long, and neglecting his personal appearance, and also, by frequent fastings, some times for two or three days together, and refrain-

acted both as performers and police."—JAMES MOONEY, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

The term Oshkushi "is the animate form of an inanimate word referring to 'hoof,' 'claw,' 'nail,' applied to a member of the social divisions of the Sauk, Foxes, and Kickapoo. The division is irrespective of clan and is the cause of intense rivalry in sport. Their ceremonial color is black."

—WILLIAM JONES, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

The name Oshkosh was borne by a chief of the Menominee, born in 1795, died Aug. 31, 1850. He, with a hundred of his tribesmen, fought under the British in the capture of Ft. Mackinaw from the Americans in July, 1812. At the treaty of Butte des Morts (Aug. 11, 1827) he represented his tribe, being named chief at that time for this purpose. A portrait of him, painted by Samuel M. Brookes, is in the possession of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. The city of Oshkosh, in Wisconsin, bears his name.—Ed.

ing from all intercourse with the other sex; if his dreams are favorable he thinks that the Great Spirit will give him success; he then makes a feast, generally of dog's meat (it being the greatest sacrifice that he can make to part with a favorite dog); when all those who feel inclined to join him will attend the feast; after this is concluded they immediately set off on their expedition. It frequently happens that in consequence of unfavorable dreams or some trifling accident the whole party will return without meeting with the enemy. When they are successful in taking prisoners or scalps, they return to their villages with great pomp and ceremony. The party will halt several miles from a village and send a messenger to inform the nation of their success, and of the time that they intend to enter the village; when all the female friends of the party will dress themselves in their best attire and go out to meet them; on their arrival it is the privilege of these women to take from them all their blankets, trinkets, etc., that they may possess; the whole party then paint themselves and approach the village with the scalps stretched on small hoops and suspended to long poles or sticks, dancing, singing, and beating the drum, in this manner they enter the village. The chiefs in council will then determine whether they shall dance the scalps (as they term it) or not, if this is permitted, the time is fixed by them, when the ceremony shall commence, and when it shall end. In these dances<sup>51</sup> the women join the successful warriors. I have seen myself

<sup>51</sup> "The dance of the older time was fraught with symbolism and mystic meaning which it has lost in civilization and enlightenment. It is confined to no one country of the world, to no period of ancient or modern time, and to no plane of human culture. Strictly interpreted, therefore, the dance seems to constitute an important adjunct rather than the basis of the social, military, religious, and other activities designed to avoid evil and to secure welfare. . . . The dance is only an element, not the basis, of the several festivals, rites, and ceremonies performed in accordance with well-defined rules



KEOKUCK (Sauk)



more than a hundred of them dancing at once, all painted, and clad in their most gaudy attire. The foregoing manner of raising a war party, etc., is peculiar to the Sauks, Foxes and Kickapoos; with the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawattamies it is some what different. A warrior of these nations wishing to go against his enemies, after blacking his face, fasting, etc., prepares a temporary lodge out of the village in which he seats himself and smokes his pipe; in the middle of his lodge hangs a belt of wampum or piece of scarlet cloth, ornamented; a young Indian wishing to accompany him goes into the lodge and draws the belt of wampum or piece of cloth thro' his left hand and sits down and smokes of the tobacco already prepared by the partizan. After a sufficient number is collected in this manner, the whole begin to compare their dreams daily together; if their dreams are favorable, they are anxious to march immediately; otherwise they will give up the expedition for the present saying, that it will not please the Great Spir-

and usages, of which it has become a part. The dance was a powerful impulse to their performance, not the motive of their observance. . . The word or logos of the song or chant in savage and barbaric planes of thought and culture expressed the action of the orenda, or esoteric magic power, regarded as immanent in the rite or ceremony of which the dance was a dominant adjunct and impulse. In the lower planes of thought the dance was inseparable from the song or chant, which not only started and accompanied but also embodied it. . . There are personal, fraternal, clan or gentile, tribal, and inter-tribal dances; there are also social, erotic, comic, mimic, patriotic, military or warlike, invocate, offertory, and mourning dances, as well as those expressive of gratitude and thanksgiving. Morgan (*League of the Iroquois*, 1904, vol. i, 278) gives a list of thirty-two leading dances of the Seneca Iroquois, of which six are costume dances, fourteen are for both men and women, eleven for men only, and seven for women only. Three of the costume dances occur in those exclusively for men, and the other three in those for both men and women. . . The ghost dance, the snake dance, the sun dance, the scalp dance, and the calumet dance, each performed for one or more purposes, are not developments from the dance, but rather the dance has become only a part of the ritual of each of these important observances, which by metonymy have been called by the name of only a small but conspicuous part or element of the entire ceremony." — J. N. B. HEWITT, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

it for them to go, or that their medicine is not good or, that their partizan has cohabited with his wife. If every thing goes right the whole will meet at their leader's lodge, where they will beat the drums and pray the Great Spirit to make them successful over their enemies. When the party consists of twenty or upwards, its leader will appoint a confidential man, to carry the great medicine bag. After they are assembled at the place of rendezvous and in readiness to march, the partizan will make a speech in which he will inform them that they are now about to go to war; that when they meet their enemies he hopes they will behave like men, and not fear death; that the Great Spirit will deliver their enemies into their hands, and that they shall have liberty to do as they please with them; but at the same time if there are any among them who are fearful of anything whatever, such had better remain at home and not set out on such a hazardous expedition.

Among the Ottawas the partizan leads when they march out but the warrior who first delivers him a scalp or prisoner leads the party homeward and receives the belt of wampum. On the arrival of the party at the village, they distribute the prisoners to those who have lost relations by the enemy; or if the prisoners are to be killed, their spirits are delivered over to some particular person's relations who have died and are now in the other world.

Among the Pottawattamies it is different; all prisoners or scalps belong to the partizan, and he disposes of them as he may think proper: he will some times give a prisoner to a family who has lost a son and the prisoner will be adopted by the family and considered the same as though he was actually the person whose place he fills. This latter practice is also observed among the Sauks and Foxes.

In addition to the grand divisions of the males, each nation is subdivided into a great number of families or tribes. Among the Sauks there are no less than fourteen tribes; each of them being distinguished by a particular name (generally by the name of some animal) some of which are as follows—The bear tribe, wolf tribe, dog tribe, elk tribe, eagle tribe, partridge tribe, sturgeon tribe, sucker tribe, and the thunder tribe. Except in particular cases all the Indian nations mentioned in the foregoing are governed almost altogether by the advice of their chiefs and the fear of punishment from the evil spirit not only in this, but in the other world. The only instances wherein I have ever known any laws enforced or penalties exacted for a disobedience of them by the Sauks and Foxes, are when they are returning in the spring from their hunting grounds to their village. The village chiefs then advise the war chiefs to declare the martial law to be in force, which is soon proclaimed and the whole authority placed in the hands of the war chiefs.<sup>52</sup> Their principal object in so doing appears to

<sup>52</sup> "Among the North American Indians a chief may be generally defined as a political officer whose distinctive functions are to execute the ascertained will of a definite group of persons united by the possession of a common territory or range and of certain exclusive rights, immunities, and obligations, and to conserve their customs, traditions, and religion. He exercises legislative, judicative, and executive powers delegated to him in accordance with custom for the conservation and promotion of the public weal. The wandering band of men with their women and children contains the simplest type of chieftaincy found among the American Indians, for such a group has no permanently fixed territorial limits, and no definite social and political relations exist between it and any other body of persons. The clan or gens embraces several such chieftaincies, and has a more highly developed internal political structure with definite land boundaries. The tribe is constituted of several clans or gentes and the confederation of several tribes." In the course of social progress and the advance of political organization, multiplied and diversified functions also required various kinds and grades of officials, or chiefs; there were civil and war chiefs, and the latter might be permanent or temporary, the former existing where the civil structure was permanent, as among the Iroquois. "Where the civil organization was of the simplest character the authority of the chiefs was most nearly despotic; even in some instances where

be to prevent one family from returning before another whereby it might be exposed to an enemy; or by arriving at the village before the others, dig up its neighbours' corn. It is the business of the war chiefs in these cases to keep all the canoes together; and on land to regulate the march of those who are mounted or on foot. One of the chiefs goes ahead to pitch upon the encamping ground for each night, where he will set up a painted pole or stake as a signal for them to halt; any Indian going beyond this is punished, by having his canoe, and whatever else he may have along with him, destroyed. On their arrival at their respective villages, sentinels are posted, and no one is allowed to leave his village until every thing is put in order; when this is accomplished the martial law ceases to be in force. A great deal of pains appears to be taken by the chiefs and principal men to impress upon the minds of the younger part of their respective nations what they conceive to be their duty to themselves and to each other. As soon as day light appears it is a practice among the Sauks and Foxes for a chief or principal man to go through their respective villages, exhorting and advising them, in a very loud voice, what to do, and how to conduct themselves. Their families in general appear to be well regulated, all the laborious duties of the lodge, and of the field, however, are put upon the women, except what little assistance the old men are able to afford. The children appear to be particularly under the charge of their mother; the boys until they are of a suitable age to handle the bow or gun.

the civil structure was complex, as among the Natchez, the rule of the chiefs at times became in a measure tyrannical, but this was due largely to the recognition of social castes and the domination of certain religious beliefs and considerations. The chieftainship was usually hereditary in certain families of the community, although in some communities any person by virtue of the acquisition of wealth could proclaim himself a chief. Descent of blood, property, and official titles were generally traced through the mother."

— J. N. B. HEWITT, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

Corporal punishment is seldom resorted to for their correction; if they commit any fault, it is common for their mother to black their faces, and send them out of the lodge, when this is done they are not allowed to eat until it is washed off; sometimes they are kept a whole day in this situation as a punishment for their misconduct.

When the boys are six or seven years of age a small bow is put into their hands and they are sent out to hunt birds about the lodge or village; this they continue to do for five or six years, when their father purchases them shot guns, and they begin to hunt ducks, geese, etc. Their father (particularly in winter evenings) will relate to them the manner of approaching a Deer, Elk, or Buffaloe, also the manner of setting a trap, and when able, he will take them a hunting with him, and show them the tracks of different animals, all of which the boy pays the greatest attention to.

The girls as a matter of course are under the direction of their mother, and she will show them how to make moggazins, leggins, mats, etc. She is very particular to keep them continually employed, so that they may have the reputation of being industrious girls, and therefore the more acceptable or more sought after by the young men.

Most of the Indians marry early in life, the men from sixteen to twenty generally, and the girls from fourteen to eighteen. There appears to be but little difficulty in a young Indians procuring himself a wife, particularly if he is a good hunter, or has distinguished himself in battle. There are several ways for a young Indian to get himself a wife; sometimes the match is made by the parents of the young man and girl without his knowledge, but the most common mode of procuring a wife is as follows:

A young man will see a young woman that he takes a

fancy to; he will commence by making a friend of some young man, a relation of hers (perhaps her brother); after this is done he will disclose his intentions to his friend, saying, that he is a good hunter and has been several times to war, etc., appealing to him for the truth of his assertions, and conclude by saying, if your parents will let me have your sister for a wife I will serve them faithfully, that is to say, according to custom, which is until she has a child; after which he can take her away to his own relations or live with his wife's. During the servitude of a young Indian neither he nor his wife has any thing at their disposal, he is to hunt, and that in the most industrious manner, his wife is continually at work, dressing skins,<sup>53</sup> making mats, planting corn, etc. The foregoing modes of procuring

<sup>53</sup> "In the domestic economy of the Indian skins were his most valued and useful property, as they became later his principal trading asset; and a mere list of the articles made of this material would embrace nearly half his earthly possessions. Every kind of skin large enough to be stripped from the carcass of beast, bird, or fish was used in some tribe or other, but those in most general use were those of the buffalo, elk, deer, antelope, beaver" [in the region covered in the present book]. Among the chief articles made from skins were tipis, boxes, bed-covers, pouches, and bags, blankets, harness for animals, the boats used by the upper Missouri tribes, clothing of all kinds, shields, cradles, fishing lines and nets. "The methods employed for dressing skins were very much the same everywhere north of Mexico, the difference being chiefly in the chemicals used and the amount of labor given to the task. Among the plains tribes, with which the art is still in constant practice nearly according to the ancient method, the process consists of six principal stages, viz, fleshing, scraping, braining [anointing the skin with a mixture of cooked brains, etc.], stripping, graining, and working, for each of which a different tool is required. . . . According to Schoolcraft (*Narr. Jour.*, 323; 1821) the eastern Sioux dressed their buffalo skins with a decoction of oak bark, which he surmises may have been an idea borrowed from the whites." Various kinds of skins, and those for special purposes, receive special kinds of treatment, according to varying circumstances. "It is doubtful if skin dyeing was commonly practiced in former times, although every tribe had some method of skin painting. The process as described in practice by the plains tribes refers more particularly to the northern and western tribes of the United States; those dwelling south of the Algonquian tribes, from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, had a somewhat different method. This is described, as seen among the Choctaw." — JAMES MOONEY, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

a wife apply particularly to the Sauk, Fox, and Kickapoo nations; with the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawattamies, a wife is sometimes purchased by the parents of the young man, when she becomes at once his own property; but the most common mode of procuring a wife in all these nations is by servitude. It frequently happens that when an Indians servitude for one wife has expired he will take another (his wife's sister perhaps) and again serve her parents according to custom. Many of these Indians have two or three wives, the greatest number that I have known any man to have at one time was five. When an Indian wants more than one wife, he generally prefers that they should be sisters, as they are more likely to agree and live together peaceable. An old man of fifty or sixty will frequently marry a girl of sixteen and who already has two or three wives. It seldom happens that a man separates from his wife, it sometimes does however happen, and then she is at liberty to marry again. The crime of adultery is generally punished by the Pottawattamies, by the husband's biting off the woman's nose and afterwards separating from her.

There appears to be no marriage ceremony among these Indians at the present day.

The Pottawattamies have a ceremony in naming their children;<sup>54</sup> which is generally performed when they are about a month old; it is as follows. The parents of the

<sup>54</sup> "Among the Indians personal names were given and changed at the critical epochs of life, such as birth, puberty, the first war expedition, some notable feat, elevation to chieftainship, and, finally, retirement from active life was marked by the adoption of the name of one's son. In general, names may be divided into two classes: (1) True names, corresponding to our personal names; and (2) names which answer rather to our titles and honorary appellations. The former define or indicate the social group into which a man is born, whatever honor they entail being due to the accomplishments of ancestors, while the latter mark what the individual has done himself. There are characteristic tribal differences in names, and where a clan system existed each

child invite some old and respectable man to their lodge in the evening, and inform him, that they wish him to name their child the day following. The old man then engages two or more young men to come to the lodge early in the next morning to cook a feast; this feast must be cooked by young men in a lodge by themselves, no other person is permitted to enter until it is ready for the guests who are then and not before invited. After the feast is over the old man then rises and informs the company the object of their being together, and gives the child its name, and then goes on to make a long speech, by saying, that he hopes the Great Spirit will preserve the life of the child, make a good hunter and a successful warrior, etc. With the Sauks, Foxes, and Kickapoos this ceremony is not always attended to; they however, in common with the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawattamies, have a great number of feasts. They all make a feast of the first Dear, Bear, Elk, Buffaloe,

clan had its own set of names, distinct from those of all other clans, and, in the majority of cases, referring to the totem animal, plant, or object. At the same time there were tribes in which names apparently had nothing to do with totems, and some such names are apt to occur in clans having totemic names. . . Names of men and women were usually, though not always, different. When not taken from the totem animal, they were often grandiloquent terms referring to the greatness and wealth of the bearer, or they might commemorate some special triumph of the family, while, as among the Navaho, nicknames referring to a personal characteristic were often used. . . Often names were ironical, and had to be interpreted in a manner directly opposite to the apparent sense. . . Names could often be loaned, pawned, or even given or thrown away outright; on the other hand, they might be adopted out of revenge without the consent of the owner. The possession of a name was everywhere jealously guarded, and it was considered discourteous or even insulting to address one directly by it. This reticence, on the part of some Indians at least, appears to have been due to the fact that every man, and every thing as well, was supposed to have a real name which so perfectly expressed his inmost nature as to be practically identical with him. This name might long remain unknown to all, even to its owner, but at some critical period in life it was confidentially revealed to him. . . In recent years the Office of Indian Affairs has made an effort to systematize the names of some of the Indians for the purpose of facilitating land allotments, etc."

— JOHN R. SWANTON, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

etc., a young man kills; even the first small bird, that a boy kills, is preserved and makes a part of the next feast. There appears to be a great deal of secrecy and ceremony in preparing these feasts.

Other feasts to the Great Spirit are frequently made by these Indians, sometimes by one person alone; but it is oftener the case, that several join in making them. They repair to the lodge where the feast is to be made, shut themselves up, and commence beating the drum, shaking the *che-che-quon* (a gourd shell with a handful of corn in it),<sup>55</sup> singing and smoking; this is alternately continued during the whole time that the feast is preparing, which generally continues from twelve to eighteen hours. When everything is in readiness the guests are invited by sending to each a small stick or reed; as soon as they arrive, they seat themselves in a circle on the ground in the middle of the lodge, when one of the guests places before each person a wooden bowl with his proportion of the feast, and they imme-

<sup>55</sup> The rattle is "an instrument for producing rhythmic sound, used by all Indian tribes except the Eskimo. It was generally regarded as a sacred object, not to be brought forth on ordinary occasions, but confined to rituals, religious feasts, shamanistic performances, etc. This character is emphasized in the sign language of the plains, where the sign for rattle is the basis of all signs indicating that which is sacred. Early in the 16th century Estevan, the negro companion of Cabeza de Vaca, traversed with perfect immunity great stretches of country occupied by numerous different tribes, bearing a cross in one hand, and a gourd rattle in the other. . . Rattles may be divided into two general classes, those in which objects of approximately equal size are struck together, and those in which small objects, such as pebbles, quartz crystals, or seeds, are inclosed in a hollow receptacle. The first embraces rattles made of animal hoofs or dewclaws, bird beaks, shells, pods, etc. These were held in the hand, fastened to blankets, belts, or leggings, or made into necklaces or anklets so as to make a noise when the wearer moved. . . The second type of rattle was made of a gourd, of the entire shell of a tortoise, of pieces of rawhide sewed together, or, as on the N.W. coast, of wood. It was usually decorated with paintings, carvings, or feathers and pendants, very often having a symbolic meaning. The performer, besides shaking these rattles with the hand, sometimes struck them against an object." — JOHN R. SWANTON, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

diately commence eating. When each man's proportion is eaten, the bones are all collected and put into a bowl and afterwards thrown into the river or burnt.<sup>56</sup> The whole of the feast must be eaten; in case a man can not eat his part of it he passes his dish with a piece of tobacco to his neighbor and he eats it and the guests then retire. Those who make a feast never eat any part of it themselves, they say, they give their part of it to the Great Spirit, they always have some consecrated tobacco, which they afterwards bury, and then the feast is concluded. The women of these nations are very particular to remove from their lodges, to one erected for that particular purpose, when their menstrual term approaches,<sup>57</sup> no article of furniture that is used in this

<sup>56</sup> Cf. allusions to the superstitious burning of bones, in *Jesuit Relations*, vol. ix, 299, vol. xx, 199, vol. xli, 301, 303 (and others, for which see Index, vol. lxxii, 323). This belief is thus explained by Brinton (*Myths of New World*, first edition, 257-261): "The opinion underlying all these [burial] customs was, that a part of the soul, or one of the souls, dwelt in the bones; that these were the seeds, which, planted in the earth, or preserved unbroken in safe places, would in time put on once again a garb of flesh, and germinate into living human beings. . . Even the lower animals were supposed to follow the same law. Hardly any of the hunting tribes, before their original manners were vitiated by foreign influence, permitted the bones of game slain in the chase to be broken, or left carelessly about the encampment. They were collected in heaps, or thrown into the water." Also (144, 145): "As the path to a higher life hereafter, the burning of the dead was first instituted. . . Those of Nicaragua seemed to think it the sole path to immortality, holding that only such as offered themselves on the pyre of their chieftain would escape annihilation at death; and the tribes of upper California were persuaded that such as were not burned to death were liable to be transformed into the lower orders of brutes." See also Long's *Expedition* (Phila., 1823), vol. i, 278. — Ed.

<sup>57</sup> For this clause is substituted in Morse's *Report*, obviously by that learned doctor, the following words, "at such seasons as were customarily observed by Jewish women, according to the law of Moses." For further mention of this seclusion of women, and superstitions connected with it, see *Jesuit Relations*, vol. iii, 105, vol. ix, 123, 308, 309, vol. xiii, 261; also *Report of Bureau of Amer. Ethnology*, 1881-1882, 263, 267, and 1892-1893, 175. The same custom was connected with childbirth; see *Report of 1883-1884*, 497; of 1884-1885, 610; and 1887-1888, 415. — Ed.

This was a form of taboo, "a Polynesian term (*tabu*) applied to a sacred interdiction proper to or laid upon a person, place, day, name, or any conceiv-

lodge is ever used in any other, not even the steel and flint with which they strike fire. No Indian ever approaches this lodge while a woman occupies it, and

able thing which is thereby rendered sacred and communication with it except to a few people or under certain circumstances forbidden. It was formerly such a striking institution, and was in consequence so frequently mentioned by explorers and travelers, that the word has been adopted into English both as applying to similar customs among other races and in a colloquial sense. Its negative side, being the more conspicuous, became that attached to the adopted term; but religious prohibitions among primitive races being closely bound up with others of a positive character, it is often applied to the latter as well; and writers frequently speak of the taboos connected with the killing of a bear or a bison, or the taking of a salmon, meaning thereby the ceremonies then performed, both positive and negative. In colloquial English usage, it has ceased to have any religious significance. Whether considered in its negative or in its positive aspect this term may be applied in North America to a number of regulations observed at definite periods of life, in connection with important undertakings, and either by individuals or by considerable numbers of persons. Such were the regulations observed by boys and girls at puberty; by parents before the birth of a child; by relatives after the decease of a relative; by hunters and fishermen in the pursuit of their occupations; by boys desiring guardian spirits or wishing to become shamans; by shamans and chiefs desiring more power, or when curing the sick, prophesying, endeavoring to procure food by supernatural means, or 'showing their power' in any manner; by novitiates into secret societies, and by leaders in society or tribal dances in preparation for them. . . In tribes divided into totemic clans or gentes each individual was often called upon to observe certain regulations in regard to his totem animal," which sometimes took the form of an absolute prohibition against killing that animal; "but at other times it merely involved an apology to the animal or abstinence from eating certain parts of it. The negative prohibitions, those which may be called the taboos proper, consisted in abstinence from hunting, fishing, war, women, sleep, certain kinds of work, etc., but above all abstinence from eating; while among positive accompaniments may be mentioned washing, sweat-bathing, flagellation, and the taking of emetics and other medicines. In the majority of American tribes, the name of a dead man was not uttered—unless in some altered form—for a considerable period after his demise; and sometimes, as among the Kiowa, the custom was carried so far that names of common animals or other terms in current use were entirely dropped from the language because of the death of a person bearing such a name. Frequently it was considered improper for a man to mention his own name, and the mention of the personal name was avoided by wives and husbands in addressing each other, and sometimes by other relatives as well. But the most common regulation of this kind was that which decreed that a man should not address his mother-in-law directly, or vice versa; and the prohibition of intercourse often applied to fathers-in-law and daughters-in-law also." Anything desired or feared by man might occasion these prohibitions or

should a white man approach it and wish to light his pipe by the fire of a woman while in this situation, she will not allow him by any means to do so, saying, that it will make his nose bleed and his head ache; that it will make him sick.

When an Indian dies, his relations put on him his best regulations; misfortunes might result from their non-fulfilment, or they might bring good fortune—more or less as the regulation was more or less strictly observed. The taboo “is one aspect of religious phenomena known by many other names; and, at least among the lower races, is almost as broad as religion itself.

“The significance of a girl’s entrance into womanhood was not only appreciated by all American tribes, but its importance was much exaggerated. It was believed that whatever she did or experienced then was bound to affect her entire subsequent life, and that she had exceptional power over all persons or things that came near her at that period. For this reason she was usually carefully set apart from other people in a small lodge in the woods, in a separate room, or behind some screen. There she remained for a period varying from a few days, preferably four, to a year or even longer—the longer isolation being endured by girls of wealthy or aristocratic families—and prepared her own food or had it brought to her by her mother or some old woman, the only person with whom she had anything to do. Her dishes, spoons, and other articles were kept separate from all others, and had to be washed thoroughly before they could be used again, or, as with the Iroquois, an entirely new set was provided for her. For a long period she ate sparingly and took but little water, while she bathed often. Salt especially was tabooed by the girl at this period.” Many other taboos were in vogue, among the different tribes, and the girl was made the subject of various ceremonies peculiar to this period of her life; and many superstitions regarding her and her condition were current among the savages. “The whole period of isolation and fast usually ended with a feast and public ceremonies as a sign that the girl was now marriageable and that the family was now open to offers for her hand. . . . Although not so definitely connected with the puberty, certain ordeals were undergone by a boy at about that period which were supposed to have a deep influence on his future career. Among these are especially to be noted isolation and fasts among the mountains and woods, sweat bathing and plunging into cold water, abstinence from animal food, the swallowing of medicines sometimes of intoxicating quality, and the rubbing of the body with fish spines and with herbs. As in the case of the girl, numbers of regulations were observed which were supposed to affect the boy’s future health, happiness, and success in hunting, fishing, and war. . . . The regulations of a boy were frequently undergone in connection with ceremonies introducing him into the mysteries of the tribe or of some secret society. They were not as widespread in North America as the regulations imposed upon girls, and varied more from tribe to tribe. It has also been noticed that they break down sooner before contact with whites.”—JOHN R. SWANTON, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

clothes, and either bury him in the ground or put him on a scaffold; but the former is the most common mode of disposing of the dead. As soon as an Indian dies his relations engage three or four persons to bury the body; they usually make a rough coffin of a piece of a canoe or some bark, the body is then taken to the grave in a blanket or buffaloe skin, and placed in the coffin, together with a hatchet, knife, etc., and then covered over with earth. Some of the near relations usually follow the corps; the women on these occasions appear to be much affected. If the deceased was a warrior, a post is usually erected at his head, on which is painted red crosses of different sizes, to denote the number of men, women, and children he has killed of the enemy during his life time, and which they say he will claim as his slaves now that he has gone to the other world. It is frequently the case that some of his friends will strike a post, or tree, and say I will speak; he then in a loud voice will say at such a place I killed an enemy, I give his spirit to our departed friend; and sometimes he may give a greater number in the same manner. The friends of the deceased will afterwards frequently take victuals, tobacco, etc., to his grave and there leave it, believing that whatever they present to him in this manner, he will have in the other world.

An Indian always mourns for the loss of near relations from six to twelve months, by neglecting his personal appearance, blacking his face, etc. A woman will mourn for the loss of a husband, at least twelve months, during which time she appears to be very solitary and sad, never speaking to any one unless necessary, and always wishing to be alone; at the expiration of their mourning she will paint and dress as formerly, and endeavor to get another husband.

The belief of these Indians relative to their creation

is not very dissimilar to our own. Masco, one of the chiefs of the Sauks informed me that they believed, that the Great Spirit in the first place created from the dirt of the earth two men; but finding that these alone would not answer his purpose, he took from each man a rib and made two women, from these four he says sprang all red men; that the place where they were created was Mo-ne-ac (Montreal). That they were all one nation until they behaved so badly that the Great Spirit came among them, and talked different languages to them, which caused them to separate, and form different nations: he said that it was at this place that Indians first saw white men, that they then thought they were spirits. I asked him how they supposed white men were made; he replied that Indians supposed the Great Spirit made them of the fine dust of the earth as they knew more than they did. They appear to entertain a variety of opinions with regard to a future state; a Fox Indian told me that their people generally believed that as soon as an Indian left this world, he commenced his journey for the habitation provided for him by the Great Spirit in the other world; that those who had conducted themselves well in this life, met with but little difficulty in finding the road which leads to it; but that those who had behaved badly always got into the wrong road, which was very crooked and very difficult to travel in; that they frequently met with broad rivers which they had to ford or swim; and in this manner they were punished, until the Great Spirit thought proper to put them into the good road, and then they soon reached their friends, and the country of their future residence, where all kinds of game was plenty, and where they had but little to do, but to dance by night, and sleep by day; he further observed that when young children died they

did not at first fare so well. That originally there were two Great Spirits who were brothers, and equally good, that one of them died and went to another world and has ever since been called Mach-i-Man-i-to (the Evil Spirit) that this Spirit has a son who makes prisoners of all the children that die too young to find the good path, and takes them to his own town, where they were formerly deprived by him of their brains, in order that when they grew up they might not have sense enough to leave him. That the Good Spirit seeing this, sent an eagle to peck a hole in the head of every young child as soon as it dies and makes its appearance in the other world, and to deprive it of its brain and conceal the same in the ground; that the child is always immediately after taken as a prisoner by the Evil Spirit and kept until of a suitable age to travel, when the eagle returns its brain; and then, it having sense enough, immediately leaves the Bad Spirit and finds the good road.

Most of these Indians say that their deceased friends appear occasionally to them in the shape of birds and different kinds of beasts. A Fox Indian observed one morning last summer that the spirit of a certain Indian (who was buried the day before) appeared last night near his grave in the shape of a Turkey, and that he heard the noise of him almost all night. I enquired of another Indian (quite an old man) if any of their people had ever returned from the dead, he replied, that he had heard of only one or two instances of the kind; but that he believed they knew what they were about in this world.

I do not at the present time think of anything further relative to the history, manners, religion and customs of the Indians worthy of notice. No part of what I have written is taken from books, but almost every thing has

been drawn from either the Indians themselves or from persons acquainted with their language, manners, customs, etc., on this account I presume that it will be the more acceptable.

I will now proceed agreeably to your request to give you my ideas relative to the Indian trade, etc.<sup>58</sup>

In the first place I have to observe, that the Factory System for supplying the Indians with such articles as they may need, does not appear to me to be productive of any great advantage, either to the savages, themselves, or to the government. But very few, if any of the Indians have sufficient forecast to save enough of the proceeds of their last hunt to equip themselves for the next; the consequence is, that when the hunting season approaches they must be dependant upon some one for a credit. An Indian family generally consists of from five to ten persons, his wife, children, children-in-law, and grandchildren, all of whom look to its head for their supplies; and the whole of the proceeds of the hunt goes into one common stock, which is disposed of by him for the benefit of the whole. When cold weather approaches they are generally destitute of many articles, which are necessary for their comfort and convenience; besides guns, traps, and ammunition; some kettles, blankets, strouding, etc., are always wanting; for these articles they have no one to look to but the private trader; as it is well known that the United States Factors give no credit; but even if they did, the number of these establishments is too limited to accommodate any considerable number of Indians, as but few of them will travel far to get their supplies if it can be avoided: and farther, the Indians (who are good judges of the quality of the articles they are in want of) are of the opinion

<sup>58</sup> The rest of Marston's letter (except the last two paragraphs) was printed by Morse on pages 56-59 of the *Report*. — Ed.

that the Factor's goods are not so cheap, taking into consideration their quality, as their private trader's; in this I feel pretty well convinced, from my own observation, and the acknowledgment of one of the most respectable Factors of our government, Judge Johnson, of Prairie du Chien, that they are correct; this gentleman informed me but a few months ago that the goods received for his establishment were charged at least 25 pc<sup>t</sup> higher than their current prices, and that he had received many articles of an inferior and unsuitable quality for Indian trade.<sup>59</sup> If you speak to an Indian upon the subject of their great father, the President, supplying them with goods from his factories, he will say at once you are a *pash-i-pash-i-to* (a fool), our great father is certainly no trader, he has sent these goods to be given to us as presents, but his agents are endeavoring to cheat us by selling them for our peltries.

The amount of goods actually disposed of by the United States Factors at Green Bay, Chicago, Prairie du Chien, and Fort Edwards, if I am rightly informed is very inconsiderable. The practice of selling goods to the whites and of furnishing outfits to Indian traders,

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<sup>59</sup> "A similar complaint was made by the Six Nations at Buffalo the last August, when I was present. A member of Congress, I was told, had been invited to inspect the goods and to witness the fact of their inferiority. It was asserted to me that much better goods, and at a less price than those which were distributed at this time (an annuity payment) by the Indian agent, could have been purchased at New York. Had the amount due these Indians been judiciously expended in that city, the Indians, it was said, might have been benefited by it, in the quality of their goods, several hundred dollars. It was added, that the Indians are good judges of the quality of goods, and know when they were well or ill treated. But they had, in this case, no means of redress." — REV. J. MORSE.

"John W. Johnson, a native of Maryland, was United States factor at Prairie du Chien, in 1816, and afterwards. In his manners, he was a real gentleman, and a very worthy man; but unfortunately, he was quite deaf. He married a Sauk woman, and raised several children, and educated them; and finally retired to St. Louis, wealthy, where he resided the last I heard of him." — JOHN SHAW, in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. x, 222.

are the principal causes of their sales being so great as they actually are.

In my opinion the best plan of supplying the natives is by private American traders of good character, if they could be placed under proper restrictions.

In the first place it is for their interest to please the Indians and prevent their having whiskey (particularly when they are on their hunting grounds) and to give them good advice.

Secondly. They always give them a credit sufficient to enable them to commence hunting.

Thirdly. They winter near their hunting grounds and agreeably to the suggestion of a late secretary of war, take to themselves "help mates" from the daughters of the forest, and thereby do much towards civilizing them.

Fourthly. They always have comfortable quarters for the Indians when they visit them, and by the frequent intercourse which subsists between them become acquainted with us and imperceptibly imbibe many of our ideas, manners, and customs.

Fifthly. From interested motives, if from no other, traders will always advise the Indians to keep at peace among themselves and with the whites.

There are some changes which I think might be made to advantage in the regulations for Indian traders. In the first place with a view to do away the impression which almost universally prevails in the minds of the Indians in this part of the country, that the traders, clerks, interpreters, boatmen, and laborers, and also their goods are almost all British (which unfortunately happens to be nearly the truth, for there is scarcely a single boatman or laborer employed by the traders who is not a British subject, their goods it is well known are

almost altogether of British manufacture), I would recommend, that no clerk, interpreter, boatman or laborer be employed by them who is not a citizen of the United States; and further, that every trader be obliged to display the American flag on his boat when travelling, and at his tent or hut when encamped.

The best and most successful means which could be employed by government to civilize the Indians or render them less savage than they now are, in my opinion would be for the agent of each nation to reside at or near one of their principal villages, there to have a comfortable habitation and a council room sufficiently large to accommodate all who might wish to attend his councils. To employ a blacksmith and a carpenter, and of course have shops and suitable tools for them; every nation has a great deal for a blacksmith to do; there would probably be less for a carpenter to attend to, but he might be advantageously employed in making agricultural implements, etc. For him to cultivate in the vicinity of the village, with the consent of the nation a small farm and to keep a small stock of horses, oxen and cows. It should be understood among the Indians that the farming establishment is solely for the benefit of the agent, should it be known among them that the object was to learn them to cultivate the soil as the whites do, they would most certainly object to it; but if this is not known, they will soon see the advantages of employing the plough, harrow, etc., and be induced to imitate our examples; and thus get on the road which leads to civilization before they are aware of it.

If an agent of government should go among them, as has sometimes been the case, and inform them that he had been sent by their great father, the president, to

learn them how to cultivate the soil, spin, weave cloth and live like white people, they would be sure to set their faces against him and his advice, and say that he is a fool; that Indians are not like white people, the Great Spirit has not made them of the same color, neither has he made them for the same occupations.

The next step towards their civilization would probably be, that some of their old people would remain at their respective villages, if [they] could be assured of their being secure from their enemies, while the others are on their hunting grounds: thus they would go on from step to step until they would become not only civilized beings, but Christians.

I consider it important that government should exchange as soon as practicable all British flags and medals which the Indians may have in their possession for American ones.<sup>60</sup> The Sauk and Fox Indians have no American flags at present and but few American medals; if you speak to them of the impropriety of their displaying British flags and wearing British medals,

<sup>60</sup> Presents of various kinds were made by European governments, and later by that of the United States, to Indian chiefs as rewards for loyalty. These were often military weapons, especially brass tomahawks; also were given hat-bands, gorgets, and belt-buckles of silver, often engraved with the royal arms, or with emblems of peace. "The potency of the medal was soon appreciated as a means of retaining the Indian's allegiance, in which it played a most important part. While gratifying the vanity of the recipient, it appealed to him as an emblem of fealty or of chieftainship, and in time had a place in the legends of the tribe. The earlier medals issued for presentation to the Indians of North America have become extremely rare from various causes, chief among which was the change of government under which the Indian may have been living, as each government was extremely zealous in searching out all medals conferred by a previous one and substituting medals of its own. Another cause has been that within recent years Indians took their medals to the nearest silversmith to have them converted into gorgets and amulets. After the Revolution the United States replaced the English medals with its own, which led to the establishment of a regular series of Indian peace medals. Many of the medals presented to the North American Indians were not dated, and in many instances were struck for other purposes. Medals were also given to the Indians by the fur companies, and by missionaries (these

they will reply, we have no others, give us American flags and medals and you then will see them only. The flags given to them ought to be made of silk, their British flags being made of that material, and besides they are more durable as well as more portable than the worsted ones. One of each nation should be of a large size, for them to display at their villages on public occasions: they have at present British flags considerably larger than the American Army standards. The practice of painting these flags causes them to break and soon wear out, they should be made in the same manner that navy flags are.

The annuities paid by government to the Sauk and Fox nations<sup>61</sup> appears to be a cause of dissatisfaction (latter usually religious in character). — PAUL E. BECKWITH, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

The article here cited contains a description, with several illustrations, of the known Spanish, French, British, and United States medals given to Indians. — Ed.

<sup>61</sup> In Morse's *Report* is a table, occupying pages 376-382, 391, showing the annuities paid (1820-1821) to every tribe in the United States. Some of these were limited, but most of them were permanent; a few were granted to individual chiefs. The total annual amount of these payments was \$154,575, representing a total capital of \$2,876,250. Among the tribes receiving them are the following: Piankeshaws, \$500; Kaskaskias, \$500; Six Nations (Iroquois), \$4,500; Sauks, \$600; Foxes, \$400; Ottawas, \$4,300; Chippewas, \$3,800; Miamis, \$17,300; and to those on Eel River \$1,100 more; Pottawatamies, \$57,666,66⅔; Weas, \$3,000; Kickapoos, \$4,000; Ottawas, Chippewas, and Pottawatamies residing on the Illinois and Melwakee Rivers, etc., \$1,000; the remnant of the Illinois (five tribes), \$300; Wyandots, \$5,900, besides \$825 paid to them and to eastern tribes living with them. Besides these, a permanent annuity of salt was paid to a number of western tribes. Another table (pages 383-390) gives an "estimate of the quantity of land that has been purchased from the Indians," showing the amount sold by each tribe, with place and date of treaty therefor, and remarks on these. The total amount of lands thus acquired (1784-1821) is 191,998,776 acres, besides several tracts of "unknown" extent. In vol. ix of the Forsyth Mss. is an account by Forsyth of the original causes of the Black Hawk War, in which he relates the circumstances of the alleged cession by the Sauk and Foxes of their lands by the treaty of 1804 at St. Louis (an agreement which he pronounces worthless, as well as most unjust); he thus mentions the annuities given them on account of it: "When the annuities were delivered to the Sauk and Fox nations of Indians according

among them, in consequence of their not being able to divide and subdivide the articles received so as to give every one a part. I believe that powder, flints, and tobacco would be much more acceptable to them than the blankets, strouding, etc., which they have been in the habit of receiving.

I enclose a list of ten nations of Indians who inhabit the upper Misisissippi [and] the borders of the great lakes, showing the names given them by Europeans and by each other. The latter information I have obtained principally from the Indians themselves.<sup>62</sup>

I have the honor to remain with great respect your  
Ob<sup>t</sup> Ser<sup>t</sup> M. MARSTON, B<sup>t</sup> Maj. 5 Inf<sup>r</sup>, Command'g.  
To the REV. D<sup>r</sup> MORSE, New Haven, Connecticut.

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to the treaty (amounting to \$1,000 per annum) the Indians always thought that they were presents (as the annuities of the first twenty years were always paid in goods, sent on from George Town District of Columbia and poor sort of merchandise they were [see note 289], very often damaged, and not suitable for Indians) until I as their agent convinced them to the contrary in the summer of 1818. When the Indians heard that the goods were delivered to them as annuities, for lands sold by them to the United States, they were astonished, and refused to accept the goods, denying that they ever sold the land as stated by me." — ED.

<sup>62</sup> This list is found in vol. ii of the Forsyth Papers in the Draper Collection (pressmark "2,T"); by some oversight in arranging the documents for binding, it was separated from Marston's letter to Morse, which is found in vol. i. The list of tribes is printed in the *Report*, 397. — ED.

## An account of the Manners and Customs of the Sauk and Fox Nations of Indians Tradition

The original and present name of the Sauk Indians, proceeds from the compound word Sakie alias, A-saw-we-kee literally Yellow Earth.

The Fox Indians call themselves Mefs-qua-kee alias Mefs-qua-we-kee literally Red Earth, thus it is natural to suppose, that those two nations of Indians were once one people, or part of some great nation of Indians, and were called after some place or places where they then resided, as yellow banks, and red banks, etc. Both the Sauk and Fox Indians acknowledge, that they were once Chipeways, but intestine quarrels, and wars which ensued separated one band or party from another, and all became different in manners, customs and language. The Sauk Indians, are more immediately related to the Fox Indians than any other nation of Indians, whose language bears an affinity to theirs, such as the Kicapoos and Shawanoes to whom they (the Sauks and Foxes) claim a relationship by adoption. The Kicapoos and Shawanoes call the Sauk and Fox Indians their Younger Brothers, the Sauks call the Foxes (and the Foxes call them) their kindred.

The earliest tradition of a particular nature among them, is the landing of the whites on the shores of the Atlantic, somewheres about the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The Sauk and Fox Indians have been at war formerly

with the Iroquois, and Wyandotts,<sup>68</sup> who drove the Sauks up the St. Lawrence to the lakes, and the Foxes up the Grand River, and at Green Bay they formed a coalition and renewed their former relations to each other, since then (in alliance with the Chipeways, Ottawas, and Pottawatimies), they have been engaged in a war with the Illinois Indians, which ended in their final extermination: afterwards the Sauks and Foxes in alliance with other nations of Indians, made war against the Ojibwa Indians, and on settlement of their differences they allied themselves to the Ojibwa Indians, against the Pawnee Indians, with whom in alliance with the Ojibwas they had a severe fight in 1814 on the head waters of the Arkansas River, where the Sauks lost the Blue Chief who was then celebrated among them. Thro the interference of the government that war was quashed.

The Sauk and Fox Indians repeatedly told me that from depredations continually committed on them by the Sioux Indians of the interriour (the Yanctons and Scisitsons [i.e., Sisseton] bands) they (the Sauk and Fox Indians) thro the solicitations of their young men, they commenced a war against the above mentioned Sioux Indians in the Spring of the year 1822, but the General Council held at Pirarie du Chiens in August 1825 put a final stop to that war, otherwise, not a Sioux Indian would have been seen south of St. Peters River,

<sup>68</sup> Up to 1650 the tribe called Tionontati (or by the French, *Nation du Petun*, "Tobacco Nation," from their cultivation of and trade in tobacco) were living in the mountains south of Nottawasaga Bay, on the eastern coast of Lake Huron; but they were then forced to abandon their country, by a sudden murderous incursion of the Iroquois, and they fled to the region southwest of Lake Superior. Eight years later they were with the Potawatomi near Green Bay; soon afterward they joined the Hurons who also had been driven westward by the Iroquois, and about 1670 both tribes were at Mackinaw, and later in the vicinity of Detroit. From that time they were practically the same people, and, thus blended, became known by the modernized name of Wyandot. — JAMES MOONEY, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

in twelve months after the termination of that council.

*Belts, Alliances, etc.*

The wampum belts are woven together by thread made of the deer's sinews,<sup>64</sup> the thread is passed through each grain of wampum and the grains lay in the belt parallel to each other, the Belts are of various sizes, some more than two y<sup>ds</sup> in length, if for peace or friendship the Belts are composed solely of white grained wampum, if for war, they are made of the blue grained wampum painted red with vermillion, the greater the size of the Belt, the more force of expression is meant by it to convey. In forming alliances other Belts are made of white wampum interspersed with diamond like figures of blue wampum, representing the various nations with whom they are in alliance or friendship.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>64</sup> "Sinew is the popular term for the tendonous animal fiber used by the Indians as thread for sewing purposes" — not, as is commonly supposed, the tendon from the legs, but the large tendon, about two feet in length, lying along each side of the backbone of the buffalo, etc., just back of the neck joint. "The tendons were stripped out and dried, and when thread was needed were hammered to soften them and then shredded with an awl or a piece of flint. Sometimes the tendon was stripped of long fibers as needed, and often the tendons were shredded fine and twisted. . . . Practically all the sewing of skins for costume, bags, pouches, tents, boats, etc., was done with sinew, as was embroidery with beads and quills." It was also used for bowstrings, and to render the bow itself more elastic; also in feathering and pointing arrows, and in making fishing lines, cords, etc. — WALTER HOUGH, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

<sup>65</sup> The early white explorers found everywhere among the natives shells, or beads made from them, in use as currency, and for personal adornment; and the English colonists adopted the name for this article that was current among the New England Indians, "wampum." This term was afterward extended to the glass or porcelain beads brought from Europe by traders. The beads were strung upon cords or sinews, and when woven into plaits about as broad as the hand formed "wampum belts;" these constituted practically the official form of presents sent by one tribe or one village to another, and were used in negotiating and in recording treaties. Wampum also was the mark of a chief's authority, and was sent with an envoy as his credentials. See Holmes's account of beads, wampum, etc., in *Report of Bureau of Amer. Ethnology*, 1880-1881, 230-254; R. E. C. Stearns's "Ethno-Conchology," in *Report*

*Government*

The Sauk and Fox nations of Indians are governed by hereditary chiefs, their power descending to the oldest male of the family, which on refusal extends to the brothers or nephews of the chief and so on thro the male relations of the family. They have no war chiefs, any individual of their nations may lead a party to war, if he has enfluence to raise a party to redrefs any real or supposed grievance.

The chiefs interfere and have the sole management in all their national affairs, but they are enfluenced in a great measure by their braves or principal men in matters of peace or war. The province of the chief is to direct, the braves or warriors to act. The authority of the chiefs is always supreme in peace or war. There are no female chiefs among the Sauk and Fox nations of Indians, a boy (if a chief) is introduced into the councils of the nation, accompanied by some older branch of the family capable of giving him instructions. When the chiefs direct the head or principal brave of the nation to plant centinels for any particular purpose, if they neglect their duty or fail to effect the purpose, they are flogged with rods by the women publicly. There is no such thing as a summary mode of coercing the payment of debts, all contracts are made on honor, for redrefs of civil injuries an appeal is made to the old people of both parties and their determination is generally acceded to. In case of murder, it is determined by the relations of the deceased, they say, that by killing the murderer, it will not bring the dead to life, and it is better to receive the presents offered by the relations of the murderer than want them. Horses, merchandise

of U.S. Natl. Museum, 1887, 297-334; Ingersoll's "Wampum and its History," in *Amer. Naturalist*, vol. xvii (1883), 467-479; *Jesuit Relations*, vol. viii, 312-314. — Ed.

and silver works sometimes to a very large amount are given to the relations of a murdered person, and indeed in some instances the murderer will marry or take to wife the widow of the person whom he has killed.

Sometimes it may happen, that the relations of the deceased will refuse to receive any thing for the loss of a murdered relation, the chiefs then interfere, who never fail to settle the business. There is nothing that I know of that an Indian may be guilty what is considered a national offence, except aiding and assisting their enemies, such a person if taken in war is cut to pieces, such things rarely happen.

The Sauk and Fox Indians are not thievish, they seldom steal any thing from their traders, they sometimes steal a few horses from a neighboring nation of Indians, and formerly they used to steal many from the white settlements and their excuse is always that they were in want of a horse, and did not take all they seen. Stealing horses from their enemies is accounted honorable, the women will sometimes steal trifling articles of dress or ornament, the men very seldom. The traders feel perfectly safe among them, so much so, that they seldom or ever close their doors at night, but give them free access to come in and go out at all hours day and night. All questions relating to the nations are settled in council by the Chiefs, and when it is necessary that the council must be a secret one,<sup>66</sup> the chiefs apply to the principal brave for sentinels, who must do their duty, or they are punished by the women by stripes on their bare backs. In all Indian Councils that I have seen and heard of, the whole number of chiefs present must be of the same opinion otherwise nothing is done.

<sup>66</sup> "I never was at more than one secret council all the time I were among the Indians, and it was strictly a secret council to all intents and purposes."

*Council Fire at Brownstown in Michigan Territory*

It is hard for me to say at this late day where and when the council fire originated, but I believe it to have originated immediately after the reduction of Canada by the British. A similar one is supposed to have existed on the Mohawk River at Sir William Johnston's place of residence previous to our Revolution. The first knowledge I have of it, is when it existed at old Chillicothe in the State of Ohios, and from the Indian war that took place subsequently to the peace of 1783 the council fire was by unanimous consent removed to Fort Wayne thence afterwards to the foot of the rapids of the Miami River of the Lakes, where it remained until 1796 when it was removed to Brownstown where it now is. The British in confederacy with the Shawanoes, Delawars, Mingoes, Wyandots, Miamies, Chipeways, Ottawas and Pottawatimies offensive and defensive are the members of the council fire. The first nation of Indians who joined were the Shawanoes and Delawars and the other nations fell in or joined afterwards.

The British as head of the confederacy have a large belt of white wampum of about six or eight inches wide at the head of which is wrought in with blue grains of a diamond shape, which means the British Nation: the next diamond in the belt is the first Indian Nation who joined in alliance with the British by drawing the belt thro their hands at the council fire and so on, each nation of the confederacy have their diamond in the belt, those diamonds are all of the same size and are placed in the belt at equal distances from each other. When any business is to be done that concerns the confederacy it must be done at this council fire where are assembled as many chiefs as can be conveniently collected. At any

meeting at this council fire,<sup>67</sup> the British government is always represented by their Indian Agent, and most generally accompanied by a military officer, to represent the soldiers or braves. By consent of the confederacy,

<sup>67</sup> "In a conversation I had with General Clark previous to my giving him a copy of this production, I told him about this council fire at Brownstown in Michigan Territory: he observed 'no other agent but yourself knows anything about this Council fire.' There is more besides that, that the Indian agents do not know said I to him, and if I had included himself I would have done right, for in Indian affairs he is a perfect ignoramus. But he is superintendant and can do no wrong." — T. FORSYTH.

Early in the eighteenth century an alliance was formed by the Wyandotts, Chippewa, Ottawas, and Potawatamies for their mutual protection against the incursions of hostile western tribes; the French made a fifth party to this alliance—which before many years fell through. About 1720 those four tribes made an arrangement as to the respective territories which they were to occupy—each tribe, however, to have the privilege of hunting in the territory of the others. The Wyandotts were made the keepers of the international council-fire (a figurative expression, meaning their international archives), and arbiters, in their general council, of important questions that concerned the welfare of all the four tribes. "From that period might be dated the first introduction of the wampum belt system, representing an agreement among the four nations. The belt was left with the keepers of the council-fire. From that time forward until the year 1812 (when the council-fire was removed from Michigan to Canada) every wampum belt representing some international compact was placed in the archives of the Wyandott nation. Each belt bore some mark, denoting the nature of a covenant or contract entered into between the parties, and the hidden contents of which was kept in the memory of the chiefs." About 1842 part of the Wyandotts left Canada, to join their tribesmen in Ohio, and with them remove to Kansas, to which territory they sent (1843) their archives; but when these were desired (about 1864) by the eastern Wyandotts it was found that most of the belts and documents were dispersed and lost. The last general council of those tribes, at which the belts were displayed and their contents recited, was held in Kansas in 1846. Brownstown (later called by the whites Gibraltar) was thus named for a noted chief of the Wyandotts, Adam Brown, who was captured in Virginia by one of their scouting parties about 1755, and taken to their village near Detroit; he was an English boy, then about eight years old. He was adopted by a Wyandott family belonging to one of the ruling clans, and afterward married a Wyandott woman; he was finally made a chief, and was greatly esteemed by that tribe, and died after the War of 1812. He was a compassionate and honorable man, and never approved the attacks made by Indian parties on the whites in their homes. See *Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts* (Toronto, 1870), by Peter D. Clarke, himself a grandson of Adam Brown. — Ed.

the Shawanoe nation were formerly the leading nation, that is to say, the Shawanoes had the direction of the wars that the parties might be engaged in, the power of convening the allies, etc. Since the late war, the Chipeways are at the head of those affairs and no doubt receive occasional lessons from their British father. All Indians in forming alliances with each other, select a central spot to meet every two or three years, to commemorate and perpetuate, their alliances. It is very well known that for many years an alliance has existed between the Chipeways, Ottawas and Pottawatimies, and their chiefs encourage intermarriages with each other, for the purpose of linking themselves strongly together, and at a future period to become one people. These alliances are strictly attended to by all the parties concerned, and should there be any neglect to visit the council fire (by deputies or otherwise), to commemorate their alliances, it is considered as trifling with their allies. In 1806 or 7, the Chipeway, and Ottawa chiefs sent a speech to the Pottawattimies Indians, saying that for many years they had not sent deputies to the Island of Mackinac to the council fire according to custom, and if they declined sending deputies the ensuing summer, their part of the council fire would be extinguished: the Pottawatimies fearful of the consequences sent deputies the following year to Mackinac which satisfied all parties.

*Names and Number of Tribes [i.e., clans] among the  
Sauk Nation<sup>68</sup> of Indians*

1	Na-ma-wuck	or	Sturgeon Tribe
2	Muc-kis-sou	"	Bald Eagle
3	Puc-ca-hum-mo-wuck	"	Ringed Perch

<sup>68</sup> The Sauk were a canoe people while they lived near the Great Lakes; they practised agriculture on an extensive scale. "Despite their fixed abode

4	Mac-co. Pen-ny-ack	or	Bear Potatoe
5	Kiche Cumme	"	Great Lake
6	Pay-shake-is-se-wuck	"	Deer
7	Pe-she-pe-she-wuck	"	Panther
8	Way-me-co-uck	"	Thunder
9	Muck-wuck	"	Bear
10	Me-se-co	"	Black Bafs
11	A-ha-wuck	"	Swan
12	Muh-wha-wuck	"	Wolf

and villages they did not live a sedentary life altogether, for much of the time they devoted to the chase, fishing, and hunting game almost the whole year round. They were acquainted with wild rice, and hunted the buffalo; they did not get into possession of the horse very much earlier than after the Black Hawk War in 1832. . . Their abode was the bark house in warm weather, and the oval flag-reed lodge in winter; the bark house was characteristic of the village. Every gens had one large bark house wherein were celebrated the festivals of the gens. In this lodge hung the sacred bundles of the gens, and here dwelt the priests that watched over their keeping. It is said that some of these lodges were the length of five fires. The ordinary bark dwelling had but a single fire, which was at the center."

"In the days when the tribe was much larger there were numerous gentes. It may be that as many as fourteen gentes are yet in existence. These are: Trout, Sturgeon, Bass, Great Lynx or Water monster, Sea, Fox, Wolf, Bear, Bear-Potato, Elk, Swan, Grouse, Eagle, and Thunder. It seems that at one time there was a more rigid order of rank both socially and politically than at present. For example, chiefs came from the Trout and Sturgeon gentes, and war chiefs from the Fox gens; and there were certain relationships of courtesy between one gens and another, as when one acted the rôle of servants to another, seen especially on the occasion of a gens ceremony."

These were two great social groups: Kishkô<sup>a</sup> and Oshkash<sup>a</sup>. "A person entered into a group at birth, sometimes the father, sometimes the mother determining the group into which the child was to enter. The division was for emulation in all manner of contests, especially in athletics. The Sauk never developed a soldier society with the same degree of success as did the Foxes, but they did have a buffalo society; it is said that the first was due to contact with the Sioux, and it is reasonable to suppose that the second was due to influence also from the plains. There was a chief and a council. The chiefs came from the Trout and Sturgeon gentes, and the council was an assembly of all the warriors. Politically the chief was nothing more than figurehead, but socially he occupied first place in the tribe. Furthermore, his person was held sacred, and for that reason he was given royal homage." — WILLIAM JONES, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

The sixth in Forsyth's list of Fox clans is called by Morgan Nă-nă-mă-kew-uk (*Ancient Society*, 170). He also mentions the buffalo clan, Na-nus-sus-so-uk, as among the Sauk and Foxes. — ED.

*Names and Number of Tribes among the Fox Nation of Indians*

1	Wah-go	or	Fox Tribe
2	Muc-quā	"	Bear
3	Mow-whay	"	Wolf
4	A-ha-wuck	"	Swan
5	Puck-kee	"	Partridge (drumming)
6	Ne-nee-me-kee	"	Thunder
7	Me-sha-way	"	Elk
8	As-she-gun-uck	"	Black Bals

*War and its Incidents*

The warriors<sup>69</sup> of the Sauk Nation of Indians are divided into two bands or parties, one band or party is called Kees-ko-qui or long hairs, the other is called Osh-cush which means brave the former being considered something more than brave, and in 1819 each party could number 400 men, now (1826) perhaps they

<sup>69</sup> Among the aborigines there was no paid war force, organized police, or body of men set aside for warfare; but all these duties rested in the tribe on every able-bodied man, who from his youth had been trained in the use of arms and taught to be always ready for the defense of home and the protection of the women and children. "The methods of fighting were handed down by tradition, and boys and young men gained their first knowledge of the warrior's tactics chiefly from experiences related about the winter fire." In the lodge the young men were placed near the door where they would be first to meet an attack by enemies. "There was however a class of men, warriors of approved valor [called 'soldiers' by some writers], to whom were assigned special duties, as that of keeping the tribe in order during the annual hunt or at any great ceremonial where order was strictly to be enforced. . . In many tribes warriors were members of a society in which there were orders and degrees. The youth entered the lowest, and gradually won promotion by his acts. Each degree or order had its insignia, and there were certain public duties to which it could be assigned. Every duty was performed without compensation; honor was the only pay received. These societies were under the control of war chiefs and exercised much influence in tribal affairs. In other tribes war honors were won through the accomplishment of acts, all of which were graded, each honor having its peculiar mark or ornament which the man could wear after the right had been publicly accorded him. There were generally six grades of honors. It was from the highest grade that the 'soldier' spoken of above was taken." — ALICE C. FLETCHER, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*, art. "Soldier."

can number 500 men each. The Kees-ko-quis or long hairs are commanded by the hereditary brave of the Sauk Nation named Keeocuck<sup>70</sup> and whose standard is red. The head man of the Osh-cushes is named Waa-cal-la-qu-a-uc and his standard is blue: him and his party are considered inferiour in rank to the other party. Among the Sauk Indians every male child is classed in one of the two parties abovementioned in the following manner. The first male child born to a Kees-ko-qui, is and belongs to the band or party of Kees-ko-quis. The second male child (by the same father) is an Osh-cush,

<sup>70</sup> Keeocuck is a sterling Indian and he is the hinge on which all the affairs of the Sauk and Fox Indians turn on, he is a very smart man, his manners are very prepossessing, his mother was a half breed, and much attached to white people. Keeocuck is about 46 years old now in 1832. — T. FORSYTH.

Keokuk, the noted Sauk leader, was born on Rock River, Ill., about 1780. "He was not a chief by birth, but rose to the command of his people through marked ability, force of character, and oratorical power. His mother is said to have been half French." He was ambitious to become the foremost man in his tribe, and by affability and diplomacy gradually attained great popularity among them; he lost much of this prestige, however, by his passive attitude regarding the St. Louis treaty of 1804, by which a small band of Sauk who wintered near that post agreed to cede the Rock River country to the U.S. government. The rest of the tribe refused to confirm this agreement, and part of them decided to take up arms against its enforcement. Not finding Keokuk favorable to this action, they turned to Black Hawk as their leader; and he was forced to begin hostilities with a much smaller force than he had expected, as Keokuk with his adherents joined the Foxes — whose union with the Sauk had been already broken, largely through the intrigues of Keokuk. After the war was over, Keokuk was made chief of the Sauk, an act which "has always been regarded with ridicule by both the Sauk and the Foxes, for the reason that he was not of the ruling clan. But the one great occasion for which both the Sauk and the Foxes honor Keokuk was when, in the city of Washington, in debate with the representatives of the Sioux and other tribes before government officials, he established the claim of the Sauk and Foxes to the territory comprised in what is now the state of Iowa. He based this claim primarily on conquest." Keokuk died in 1848, in Kansas, after residing there three years; in 1883 his remains were removed to Keokuk, Iowa, and a monument was erected over his grave by the citizens of that town. His authority as chief passed to his son, Moses Keokuk — a man of great ability, intellectual force, eloquence, and strong character, who won high esteem from his tribe. He was converted to the Christian faith, late in life; and died near Horton, Kans., in 1903. — WILLIAM JONES, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

the third a Kees-ko-qui and so on. The first male child of an Osh-cush is also an Osh-cush the second is a Kees-ko-qui and so on as among the Kees-ko-qui's. When the two bands or parties turn out to perform sham battles, ball playing, or any other diversion the Kees-ko-quis paint or daub themselves all over their bodies with white clay. The Osh-cushes black their bodies on same occasions with charcoal. The Sauk and Fox Indians have no mode of declaring war, if injured by another nation they wait patiently for a deputation from the nation who committed the injury, to come forward and settle the business, as a Fox Chief told me some years ago, "the Sioux Indians have killed of[f] our people four different times, and according to our custom, it is time for us to prepare for war, and we will do so, as we see the Sioux chiefs will not come forward to settle matters." Sometimes a nation of Indians may be at peace with all others when they are invited by a neighbouring nation to assist them in a war, by promising them a portion of the enemy's country they may conquer. Young Indians are always fond of war, they hear the old warriors boasting of their war exploits and it may be said, that the principle of war is instilled into them from their cradles, they therefore embrace the first opportunity to go to war even in company with strange nations so that they may be able to proclaim at the dance, I have killed such a person, etc. One or more Indians of the same nation and village may at same time fast, pray, consult their Munitos or Supernatural Agents about going to war. The dreams they may have during their fasting, praying, etc., determine every thing, as they always relate in public the purport of their lucky dreams to encourage the young Indians to join them. Those Indians who prepare for war by dreams, etc., may be any common Indian in the nation, and if the

warriours believe in his dreams, etc., he is never at a loss for followers, that is to say, after a partizan is done fasting, and praying to the great Spirit, and that he continues to have lucky dreams, he makes himself a lodge detached from the village, where he has tobacco prepared, and in this lodge a belt of blue wampum painted red with vermillion, or a stripe of scarlet cloth hanging up in his lodge, and each warriour who enters the lodge smokes of the partizan's tobacco and draws the wampum or scarlet cloth thro his hands, as much as to say, he is enlisted in his service. If a nation of Indians or a village are likely to be attacked, every one turns out for the general defence.

Two or more partizans may join their parties together, and may or may not divide when near the enemies' country. The business of the partizan is to shew his followers the enemy, and they are to act, the partizan may if he pleases go into the fight. In going to war, the Indians always travel slowly, and stop to hunt occasionally, where they deposit their jerked meat for their return, in going off the partizan leads the party, carrying his Mee-shome or medicine sack on his back, and on leaving the village sings the She-go-dem or war song, i.e. the partizan takes up his medicine sack and sings words to the following effect: "We are going to war, we must be brave, as the Great Spirit is with us." The warriours respond by singing heugh! heugh! heugh! in quick time dancing round the partizan. Sometimes a certain place distant from the villages is appointed for the party to rendezvous at, in this case, every one as he departs from his residence sings his war song, and on the departure of the whole from the general rendezvous, they sing the She-go-dem or general war song as described above.

The form of a war encampment is this, small forks

the size of a mans arm are planted in two rows about five or six feet apart and about four feet out of the ground, on which are laid small poles, these rows extend in length proportionate to the number of warriors, and the rows are about fifteen feet apart, thro the center are other forks set up on which other poles are placed, these forks are about six feet out of the ground, and them with the poles are stoughter then the side forks and poles. The warriors lay side by side with their guns laying against the side poles if the weather is fair, if wet they place them under their blankets.

The Indian who carries the kettle is the cook for the party and when encamped the warriors must bring him wood and water, furnish meat, etc., the cook divides the vituals, and has the priviledge of keeping the best morsel for himself. The partizan and warriors when preparing for war, are very abstemious, never eating while the sun is to be seen, and also abstemious from the company of women, after having accepted the wampum or scarlet cloth before spoken of the[y] cease to cohabit with their wives, and they consider the contrary a sacrilidge. A woman may go to war with her husband, but must cease during the period to have any connection. Before making an attack they send forward some of their smartest young men as spies, the attack is generally made a little before day light, the great object is to surprise, if defeated, every one makes the best of his way home stopping and taking some of the meat jerked and burried on the way out. If a party is victorious the person who killed the first of the enemy heads the party back, by marching in front, the prisoners in the center and the partizan in the rear. On the arrival of a victorious party of Indians at their village they dance round their prisoners by way of triumph after which the prisoners

are disposed of: elderly prisoners are generally killed on the way home, and their spirits sent as an atonement to that of their deceased friends. Young persons taken in war are generally adopted by the father or nearest relation of any deceased warrior who fell in the battle or child who died a natural death and when so adopted, are considered the representatives of the dead, prisoners who are slaves are bought and sold as such. When they grow up the males are encouraged by the young men of the nation they live with, to go to war, if they consent and kill one of the enemy the slave changes his name and becomes a freeman to all intents and purposes. The female slaves are generally taken as concubines to their owners and their offspring if any are considered legal.

Sometimes an owner will marry his female slave, in that case, she becomes a freewoman, but whether a slave or free, the Sauks and Fox Indians treat their prisoners with greatest humanity, if they have the luck to get to the village alive, they are safe and their persons are considered sacred. I never heard except in the war with the *Ninneways*<sup>71</sup> of the Sauk or Fox Indians burning any of their prisoners, and they say, that the *Ninneways* commenced first, I remember to have heard sometime since of a Sauk Indian dying and leaving behind him a favorite male slave, the relations of the deceased killed the slave so that his spirit might serve on the spirit of his deceased master in the other world. The young Sauk and Fox Indians generally go to war about the age of from 16 to 18 and some few instances as young as 15 and by the time they are 40 or 45 they become stiff from the hardships they have encountered in hunting and

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<sup>71</sup> *Ninneways* so called by the Sauk, Fox, Chipeway, Ottawa, and Pottawatimie Indians: but they called themselves *Linneway*, i.e., men from which comes the word Illinois. — T. FORSYTH.

war, they are apt at that age to have young men sons or sons-in-law to provide for them: they pass the latter part of their days in peace (except the village is attacked). A good hunter and warrior will meet with no difficulty in procuring a wife in one of the first families in the nation. I know a half-breed now living among the Sauk Indians who had the three sisters for wives, they were the daughters of the principal chief of the Nation. I have always observed that the half-breeds raised among the Indians are generally resolute, remarkably brave and respectable in the nation.<sup>72</sup> The case that leads to war are many: the want of territory to hunt, depredations committed by one nation against another, and also the young Indians to raise their names, will make war against their neighbors without any cause whatever. The Sauk and Fox Indians have for many years back wished much for a war with the Pawnees who reside on the heads of the River Platte, they know that country is full of game and they don't fear the other

<sup>72</sup> "It has long been an adage that the mixed-blood is a moral degenerate, exhibiting few or none of the virtues of either, but all the vices of both of the parent stocks. In various parts of the country there are many mixed-bloods of undoubted ability and of high moral standing, and there is no evidence to prove that the low moral status of the average mixed-blood of the frontier is a necessary result of mixture of blood, but there is much to indicate that it arises chiefly from his unfortunate environment. The mixed-blood often finds little favor with either race, while his superior education and advantages, derived from association with the whites, enable him to outstrip his Indian brother in the pursuit of either good or evil. Absorption into the dominant race is likely to be the fate of the Indian, and there is no reason to fear that when freed from his environment the mixed-blood will not win an honorable social, industrial, and political place in the national life.—HENRY W. HENSHAW, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*, art. "Popular fallacies."

In the Forsyth Mss., vol. ii, doc. 7 (pressmark "2T7") is a list of the Sauk and Fox half-breeds claiming land according to the treaty made at Washington, Aug. 4, 1824. It contains thirty-eight names. Another and similar list (doc. 8) gives thirty-one names, and fourteen others which are considered doubtful. Among the (presumably) rightful claimants appears Maurice Blondeau, mentioned in note 49. — Ed.

nations who live in the way such as the Ottos,<sup>73</sup> Mahas, and Kansez, they don't consider them formidable. The Sauk and Fox Indians would long ago have made war against the Pawnees if they thought the United States government would allow them, they are well acquainted with the geography of the country west as far as the mountains, also the country south of the Missouri River as far as Red River which falls into the Mississippi River down below.<sup>74</sup> More than a century ago all the country commencing above Rocky River and running down the Mississippi to the mouth of Ohio up that river to the mouth of the Wabash, thence to Fort Wayne

<sup>73</sup> The traditions of the Siouan tribe called Oto—who resided on the Missouri and Platte Rivers successively, and went to Indian Territory in 1880-1882—relate that before the arrival of the white people they dwelt about the Great Lakes, under the name of Hotonga ("fish-eaters"); migrating to the southwest, in pursuit of buffalo, they reached Green Bay, where they divided. A part of them remained there, and were called by the whites Winnebago; another band halted at the mouth of Iowa River, and formed the Iowa tribe; and the rest traveled to the Missouri River, at the mouth of the Grand, afterward moving farther up the Missouri, in two bands, called respectively Missouri and Oto. Information to this effect was given to Major Long and to Prince Maximilian when they visited these people. In 1880-1882, they removed to Indian Territory.—*Handbook Amer. Indians*.

<sup>74</sup> The Arctic peoples, and the Algonquian tribes of northern Canada were able to travel rapidly and for long distances on account of their using dogs and sleds for this purpose; but the tribes south of them were obliged to travel on foot until the Spaniards introduced the horse. These peoples, however, accomplished long and remote journeys, often in the midst of great hardships, in which they often showed phenomenal speed and endurance. It is probable that they first made their trails in the search for food, for which purpose they needed only to follow those already made by the wild animals, especially the buffalo. "The portages across country between the watersheds of the different rivers became beaten paths. The Athapascan Indians were noted travelers; so also were the Siouan and other tribes of the great plains, and to a smaller degree the Muskogean; while the Algonquian tribes journeyed from the extreme east of the United States to Idaho and Montana in the west, and from the headwaters of the Saskatchewan almost to New Orleans. Evidences of such movements are found in the ancient graves, as copper from Lake Michigan, shells from the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico, and stone implements from various quarters. Pipes of catlinite are widely distributed in the graves and mounds. These articles show that active trade was going on over

on the Miamie River, of the lakes down that river some distance, thence north to St. Joseph and Chicago also all the country lying south of River de Moine down (perhaps) to Mifsouri River was inhabited by a numerous nation of Indians who called themselves Linneway and called by other Indians, Ninneway (literally men) this great nation of Indians were divided into several bands and inhabited different parts of an extensive country as follows. The Michigamians, the country south of River de Moine; the Cahokians, the country east of the present Cahokia in the state of Illinois; the Kaskaskias, east of the present Kaskaskia; the Tamorois had their village near St. Phillip, nearly central be-

a wide region. There is good evidence that the men engaged in this trade had certain immunities and privileges. They were free from attack, and were allowed to go from one tribe to another unimpeded." — O. T. MASON, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

There is much evidence that from far prehistoric times the Indians were familiar with vast regions of territory besides these of their own abode, and made long journeys over well-defined routes of travel. The great river-systems of the continent, whose headwaters often interlocked together, and their numerous tributaries furnished the easiest routes in the extensive forest regions of the north and east, which were penetrated by canoes or dugouts; on the plains and prairies well-worn trails still remain to indicate the lines of aboriginal travel and trade. These paths also existed along or between the river routes, many of them originally made by the tracks of deer or buffalo in their seasonal migrations or in search of water or salt. These same early trails (which generally followed the lines of least natural resistance) have since been utilized in many cases by the whites as lines for highways and railroads. "The white man, whether hunter, trader, or settler, blazed the trees along the Indian trails in order that seasonal changes might not mislead him should he return." — J. D. MCGUIRE, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

It is remarkable how the old plainsmen who laid out the Santa Fe trail across the State of Kansas and on into New Mexico, were able to follow the grades so well and get such a straight road. They simply used their eyes, for in those days there were no engineers on the western plains. "We tried to best it with our own engineering," W. B. Strang said, "but we finally ended by following the old trail made by the wheels of the wagon trains. Eleven times our engineers surveyed other lines, but they finally concluded that the grades made by the men without the knowledge of mathematics fifty years ago were the most practical, and hence we are keeping very near the old Santa Fe trail in the building of our line to the west from Kansas City." — *Chicago Record-Herald*, Jan. 2, 1910.

tween Cahokia and Kaskaskia; the Piankishaws, near Vincennes; the Weahs up the Wabash; the Miamies, on the head waters of the Wabash and Miami of the lakes, on St. Joseph River and also at Chicago; the Piankishaws, Weah, and Miamies must have hunted in those days south towards and on the banks of the Ohio River. The Peorias (being another band of the same nation) lived and hunted on Illinois River: also the Masco or Mascotins called by the French *Gens des Pirarie* lived and hunted in the great Piraries lying between the Illinois River and the Wabash. All those different bands of the Ninneway Nation spoke the language of the present Miamies, and the whole considered themselves as one and the same people, yet from the local situation of the different bands and having no standard to go by, their language assumed different dialects, as at present exists among the different bands of the Sioux and Chipeway Indians. Those Indians (the Ninneways) were attacked by a general confederacy of other nations of Indians such as the Sauks and Foxes who then resided at or near Green Bay and on Ouisconsin River, the Sioux Indians whose frontiers extended south and on the River des Moine, the Chipeways and Ottawas from the lakes and the Pottawatimies from Detroit as also the Cherrokees, Chickashaws and Chactaws from the south. This war continued for a great many years, until that great nation (the Ninneways) were destroyed except a few Miamies and Weahs on the Wabash and a few who are now s[c]attered among strangers. Of the Kaskaskia Indians from their wars, their great fondness for spirituous liquor and frequent killing each other in drunken frolics, there remains but a few of them say 30 or 40 souls, of the Peorias near St. Geneveve about 10 or 15 souls, of the Piankishaws 40 or 50 souls. The Miamies are the most numerous band. They did a few

years ago consist of about 400 souls, they don't exceed in my opinion at the present day more than 500 souls of the once great Ninneway Nation of Indians. Those Indians (the Ninneways) were said to be very cruel to their prisoners, they used to burn them, and I have heard of a certain family among the Miamies who were called man eaters<sup>75</sup> as they always made a feast of human flesh when a prisoner was killed, that being part of their duty so to do.

From enormities, the Sauk and Fox Indians, when they took any of the Ninneways, they give them up to the women to be buffeted to death. They speak of the Mascota or Mascotins at this day with abhorance for their cruelties. In the history of the Sauks and Foxes, they speak of a severe battle having been fought opposite the mouth of Ihowai River, about 50 or 60 miles below the mouth of Rocky River.

The Sauk and Fox Indians descended the Mississippi River in canoes, from their villages on Ouisconsin River, and landed at the place abovementioned, and started east towards the enemy's country, they had not gone far, before, they were attacked by a party of Mascota or Mascotins, the battle continued nearly all day, the Sauks and Foxes gave way for want of amunition, and fled to their canoes. The Mascotins pursued, fought desperately and left but few of the Sauks and Foxes to return home to tell the story. The Sauk Indians at-

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<sup>75</sup> Cf. this interesting allusion to cannibalism among the Malays in early times, referring to the islands of Samar and Leyte in the Philippines (cited in Blair and Robertson's *Philippine Islands*, vol. lii, 331): "In almost every large village there are one or more families of Asuáns, who are universally feared and avoided, and treated as outcasts, and who can marry only among their own number; they have the reputation of being cannibals. Are they perhaps descended from men-eaters? The belief is very general and deeply rooted. When questioned about this, old and intelligent Indians answered that certainly they did not believe that the Asuáns now ate human flesh, but that their forefathers had without doubt done this." — Ed.

tacked a small village of Peorias about 40 or 50 years ago, this village was about a mile below St Louis, and has been said by the Sauks themselves that they were defeated in that affair. At a place on the Illinois River called the Little Rock there were killed by the Chipeways and Ottowas a great number of men, women and children of the Ninneway Indians. In 1800 the Kickapoos made a great slaughter among the Kaskaskia Indians. The celebrated Main Poque<sup>76</sup> the Pottawatimie jugler in 1801 killed a great many of the Piankishaws on the Wabash. It does not appear that the Kicapoos entered into the war against the Ninneway Indians

<sup>76</sup> In vol. iv of the *Forsyth Papers* ("Letter-book, 1814-1827") is a sketch (evidently composed by Forsyth) of the Potawatomi chief Main Poque—a name, probably the French translation of his Indian name, meaning "swelled hand," doubtless in allusion to his left hand, which at his birth was destitute of fingers and thumb. "He used much to impose on the Indians by telling them that it was a mark set on him by the Great Spirit, to know him from other Indians when they met." He was a great orator, few surpassing him in eloquence. His father's standing as head military chief in the tribe gave prestige to the son, who added to this his own renown as a warrior. Thus Main Poque gained great influence among not only his own tribe, but the Sauk, Foxes, and others. He was in the habit of retiring alone into the woods for several days at a time, on his return home professing to have held conversations with the Great Spirit, on certain plans which he would propose to the tribe. It was rumored that this man had obtained arsenic from the whites, and had used it to cause the deaths of some persons in his tribe; and "at one time the Indians dreaded him as if he was a real deity, and thought his word was sufficient to destroy any or the whole of them. Indians have told me that the Main Poque was not born of a woman, that he was got by the Great Spirit and sprung out of the ground, and that the Great Spirit marked him in consequence" (alluding to his hand). They thought he was invulnerable to all weapons; and when he was wounded in a fight with the Osages (1810) his people said that it was done by "a gun that must have been made by some great Munito," and regarded the weapon with superstitious reverence. Main Poque was immoderately fond of spirituous liquor, and a confirmed drunkard, also very licentious; he always had three wives, and at one time had six. "He died last summer (1816) at a place called the Manesti [Manistique?] on Lake Michigan." He left two sons and three daughters, and five or six grandchildren. "His youngest son is a perfect Ideot, and his oldest son may readily be called a thick headed fool. . . The Main Poque may be considered as having been a bad Indian and it is of service to the whites and Indians that he is out of the way."—Ed.

untill after they (the Kicapoo Indians) left the Wabash River which is now about 50 or 60 years ago and made war against the band of Kaskaskias. I do not mean to say that all the Kicapos left the Wabash at the same time above mentioned as Joseph L'Reynard and a few followers never would consent to leave the Wabash, and go into the Piraries, and it is well known that he directed that after his death that his body must be burried in a Coal Bank on the Wabash, so that if the Kicapos sold the lands after his death, they would also sell his body, and their flesh, such was his antipathy to sell any land.

### *Peace*

I never heard of any peace having been made between two nations of Indians (when war had properly commenced) except when the government of the United States interfered, and that the Indians were within reach of the power of the United States to compel them to keep quiet, for when war once commenced, it always led to the final extermination of one or the other of the parties.

Some years ago a war commenced between the Sauk and Fox Indians against the Ofsage Indians. The Sauks and Foxes being a very politic and cunning people, managed matters so well, that they procured the assistance of the Ihowais, Kicapos, and Pottawatimies headed by the celebrated Main Poque, and in passing by the Sauk village on Rocky River in one of his war expeditions he was joined by upwards of one hundred Sauk Indians, this happened in 1810, the government interfering, put a final stop to the war, otherwise before this there can be no doubt the whole of the Ofsages would have been driven beyond reach, as some of the Chipeways and Ottawa Indians accompanied the Main

Poque. This confederacy, would have gained strength daily. It is true we hear of belts of wampum and pipes accompanied with presents in merchandise as peace offerings sent with conciliatory talks to make peace, but such a peace is seldom or never better than an armistice, witness the Sioux and Chipeway Indians, they have been at war for the last 60 or 80 years, the British government thro their agents, General Pike<sup>77</sup> when he traveled to the heads of the Mississippi River and last year (1825) the United States Commissioners at Pirarie des Chiens made peace (apparently) between the Sioux and Chipeway Indians but the war is going on as usual, the reason is because those nations are out of reach of the power of the United States. The Ihowai Indians, sent a deputation of their people some years ago, to the Sioux Indians, to ask for peace, the Messengers were all killed and the war continued untill a general peace took place at Pirarie des Chiens last year (1825). In the summer of 1821 I advised the Sauk and Fox Indians to make peace with the Otto and Maha Indians living on the Missouri River, they took my advise and the winter following they sent Messengers to the Council Bluffs with a letter from me to the Indian Agent at that post, the Sauk and Fox Messengers proceeded on to the Otto and Maha villages where they made peace and mutual presents took place among them to the satisfaction of all parties. I know of no armorial bearings among the Sauk and Fox Indians, except Standards of White and Red feathers, they have flags American and British which they display at certain ceremonies.

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<sup>77</sup> Referring to Zebulon M. Pike who made in 1805-1806 an expedition to the headwaters of the Mississippi. In September, 1805, he made a treaty of peace between the Sioux and the Chippewa tribes. He published (Phila., 1810), a narrative of that expedition. — Ed.

*Death and its Incidents*

When an Indian is sick and finds he is going to die, he may direct the place and manner of his interment, his request is religiously performed. The Sauk and Fox Indians bury their dead in the ground and sometimes have them transported many miles to a particular place of interment. The grave is dug similar to that of white people, but not so deep, and a little bark answers for a coffin, the body, is generally carried to the grave by old women, howling at intervals most pitiously. Previous to closing the grave one or more Indians who attend the funeral will make a motion with a stick or war-club called by the Indians Puc-ca-maw-gun speaking in an audible voice, "I have killed so many men in war, I give their spirits to my deceased friend who lies there (pointing to the body) to serve him as slaves in the other world." After which the grave is filled up with earth, and in a day or two afterwards a kind of cabin is made over the grave with split boards something like the roof of a house, if the deceased was a brave a post is planted at the head of the grave, on which is painted with vermilion the number of scalps and prisoners he had taken in war, distinguishing the sexes in a rude manner of painting peculiar to themselves. The Indians bury their dead as soon as the body becomes cold, after the death of an adult all the property<sup>78</sup> of the deceased is given

<sup>78</sup> "Broadly speaking, Indian property was personal. Clothing was owned by the wearer, whether man, woman, or child. Weapons and ceremonial paraphernalia belonged to the man; the implements used in cultivating the soil, in preparing food, dressing skins, and making garments and tent covers, and among the Eskimo the lamp, belonged to the women. In many tribes all raw materials, as meat, corn, and, before the advent of traders, pelts, were also her property. . . Communal dwellings were the property of the kinship group, but individual houses were built and owned by the woman. While the land claimed by a tribe, often covering a wide area, was common to all its members and the entire territory was defended against intruders, yet individual occupancy of garden patches was respected. . . The right of a family to gather

away to the relations of the deceased and the widow or widower returns to his or her nearest relations, if a widow is not too old, after she is done mourning, she is compelled to become the wife of her deceased husband's brother, if he wishes. Sometimes an Indian will take the wife of his deceased brother, and dismiss his other wife or wives from all obligations to him, or he may keep them all. Many may mourn for the loss of a rela-

spontaneous growth from a certain locality was recognized, and the harvest became the personal property of the gatherers. For instance, among the Menominee a family would mark off a section by twisting in a peculiar knot the stalks of wild rice growing along the edge of the section chosen; this knotted mark would be respected by all members of the tribe, and the family could take its own time for gathering the crop. . . Names were sometimes the property of clans. Those bestowed on the individual members, and, as on the N.W. coast, those given to canoes and houses, were owned by 'families.' Property marks were placed upon weapons and implements by the Eskimo and by the Indian tribes. A hunter established his claim to an animal by his personal mark upon the arrow which inflicted the fatal wound. Among both the Indians and the Eskimo it was customary to bury with the dead those articles which were the personal property of the deceased, either man or woman. In some of the tribes the distribution of all the property of the dead, including the dwelling, formed part of the funeral ceremonies. There was another class of property, composed of arts, trades, cults, rituals, and ritual songs, in which ownership was as well defined as in the more material things. For instance, the right to practise tattooing belonged to certain men in the tribe; the right to say or sing rituals and ritual songs had to be purchased from their owner or keeper. . . The shrine and sacred articles of the clan were usually in charge of hereditary keepers, and were the property of the clan. . . The accumulation of property in robes, garments, regalia, vessels, utensils, ponies, and the like, was important to one who aimed at leadership. To acquire property a man must be a skilful hunter and an industrious worker, and must have an able following of relatives, men and women, to make the required articles. All ceremonies, tribal festivities, public functions, and entertainment of visitors necessitated large contributions of food and gifts, and the men who could meet these demands became the recipients of tribal honors. Property rights in harvest fields obtained among the tribes subsisting mainly on maize or on wild rice. Among the Chippewa the right in wild rice lands was not based on tribal allotment, but on occupancy. Certain harvest fields were habitually visited by families that eventually took up their temporary or permanent abode at or near the fields; no one disputed their ownership, unless an enemy from another tribe, in which case might established right. Among the Potawatomi, according to Jenks, the people 'always divide everything when want comes to the door.' — ALICE C. FLETCHER, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

tion but the widows are always the principal mourners, they are really sincere, they are to be seen all in rags, their hair disheveled, and a spot of black made with charcoal on the cheeks, their countenance dejected, never seen to smile but appears always pensive, seldom give loose to their tears unless it is alone in the woods, where they are out of the hearing of any person, there they retire at intervals and cry very loud for about fifteen minutes, they return to their lodges quite composed. When the[y] cease from mourning which is generally at the suggestion of their friends, they wash themselves put on their best clothes and ornaments, and paint red. I have heard Indians say, that, the spirit of a deceased person, hovers about the village or lodge for a few days, then takes its flight to the land of repose.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>79</sup> The aboriginal ideas relating to the soul are based on various mental processes: concepts of life and the power of action; the phenomena of the will: the power of imagery, which produces impressions both subjective and objective, as in memory images, the conceptions of fancy, dreams, and hallucinations. All these "lead to the belief in souls separate from the body, often in human form, and continuing to exist after death. The lack of tangibility of the soul has led everywhere among Indians to the belief that it is visible to shamans only, or at least that it is like a shadow (Algonquian), like an unsubstantial image (Eskimo)," etc. Almost everywhere the soul of the dead is identified with the owl. "The beliefs relating to the soul's existence after death are very uniform, not only in North America but all over the world. The souls live in the land of the dead in the form that they had in life and continue their former occupations. Detailed descriptions of the land of the dead are found among almost all American tribes. . . . The most common notion is that of the world of the ghosts lying in the distant west beyond a river which must be crossed by canoe. This notion is found on the western plateaus and on the plains. The Algonquians believe that the brother of the Culture Hero lives with the souls of the dead. Visits to the world of the dead by people who have been in a trance are one of the common elements of American folk-lore. They have been reported from almost all over the continent."—FRANZ BOAS, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

The Indians certainly believe in a future life, but their ideas of its nature and location were vague and undefined. "Nor does it appear that belief in a future life had any marked influence on the daily life and conduct of the individual. The American Indian seems not to have evolved the idea of hell and future punishment."—HENRY W. HENSHAW, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*, art. "Popular fallacies."

The spirit on its way arrives at a very extensive Pirarie, over which they see the woods at a great distance appearing like a blue cloud, the spirit must travel over the Pirarie and when arrived at the further border, the Pirarie and woodland are separated by a deep and rapid stream of water, across this stream is a pole which is continually in motion by the rapidity of the water, the spirit must attempt to cross on the pole, if he or she has been a good person in this world, the spirit will get safe over and will find all of his or her good relations who died formerly. In those woods are all kinds of game in plenty, and there the spirits of the good live in everlasting happiness, if on the contrary, the person has done bad in this life, his or her spirit will fall off the pole into the water, the current of which will carry the spirit to the residence of the evil spirit, where it will remain for ever in indigence and extreme misery. If convenient, the graves of deceased Indians are often visited, they hoe away the grass all about and sweep it clean, and place a little vituals occasionally with some tobacco near the grave. All Indians are very fond of their children and a sick Indian is loth to leave this world if his children are young, but if grown up and married they know they are a burden to their children and don't care how soon they die. An Indian taken prisoner in war, or so surrounded by his enemies that he cannot escape, or that he is to suffer for murder, he will smile in the face of death, and if an opportunity offers he will sell his life dear. In burying Indians they place all their ornaments of the deceased, sometimes his gun and other implements for hunting, also some tobacco in his grave, paint and dress the dead body as well as possible previous to interment.

*Birth and its Incidents*

A couple marrying the offspring belong to the tribe of the father, therefore are named from some particular thing or incident that has relation to the name of the tribe: for example, if the man belongs to the Bear Tribe, he takes the name of the child from some part of the bear, or the bear itself. A few days after a child is born and some of the old relations of the father or mother's side are near, the mother of the child gives a feast and inviting a few of her or her husband's oldest relations, she having previously hinted to some or all of them the nature of the feast, one of the oldest relations gets up while the others are sitting on the ground in a ring with a dish containing some vituals before each person (the mother and child being present but do not taste of the feast) and makes a speech to the following purport. "We have gathered together here to day in the sight of the Great Spirit, to give that child a name; we hope the Great Spirit will take pity on our young relation (if a male) make him a good hunter and warriour and a man of good cense, etc. (if a female) that she may make an industrious woman, etc., and we name him or her."

This name cannot be changed untill he goes to war, when an Indian commonly changes his name from some fete [i.e., feat] in war, which has no analogy to the tribe he belongs to. A female after marriage may change her name, perhaps a dream may occasion a woman to change her name or some incident that has happened may do so. An Indian may change his name half a dozen times without being to war more than once, an Indian who has been to war and returns home after travelling towards the enemy's country for a few days, may change his name, and very often in changing their names, take the name of one of their ancestors so that

those names may be handed down to posterity. I know a Fox Indian whose name is Muc-co-pawm which is in English language Bear's Thigh or ham, he belongs to the Bear Tribe. A Sauk Indian named Muc-it-tay Mish-she-ka-kake in English the Black Hawk,<sup>80</sup> he belongs to the Eagle Tribe. Wab-be-we-sian or White hair (of an animal) belongs to the Deer Tribe.

<sup>80</sup> Black Hawk was a subordinate chief in the Sauk tribe, and noted as the leader in the war of 1832 which is named for him; was born in 1767, in the Sauk village at the mouth of Rock River, Ill. This name is the English translation of his Sauk name, Ma'katawimeshekā'kā. From the age of fifteen years he was distinguished as a warrior; and while still a young man he led expeditions against the Osage and Cherokee tribes, usually successful. In the War of 1812 he fought for the British, and after that war he was the leader of those among his tribesmen who preferred British to American affiliations. When the tide of American migration pushed into the old territory of the Sauk and Foxes (which had been surrendered to the Federal government by the treaty of 1804) part of those tribes, under the chief Keokuk, moved across the Mississippi into Iowa; but Black Hawk refused to leave, saying that he had been deceived in signing that treaty. "At the same time he entered into negotiations with the Winnebago, Potawatomi, and Kickapoo to enlist them in concerted opposition to the aggressions of the whites." Open hostilities ensued, lasting from April to August, 1832, being ended by the capture of Black Hawk; he was confined for a time at Fortress Monroe, and finally settled on the Des Moines River, where he died on October 8, 1838. — JOHN R. SWANTON, in *Hand-book Amer. Indians*.

For particulars of his life and of the "Black Hawk War" see Wis. *Hist. Colls.*, vols. i, iv, v, x, xii; also Forsyth's own account (*Forsyth Mss.*, vol. ix), "Original causes of the troubles with a party of Sauk and Fox Indians under the direction or command of the Black Hawk who is no chief." He says that the treaty of 1804 was signed only by two Sauk chiefs, one Fox chief, and one warrior; and that those tribes were not consulted and knew nothing about it (see note 291). Squatters came upon their lands, and robbed and abused the Indians, besides selling them whisky, regardless of the objections made to this by the chiefs, especially Black Hawk. They were not allowed to hunt on the lands alleged to have been ceded by them to the government, although this privilege was granted to them by the treaty of 1804. In 1830 they decided to remove to their lands in Iowa, and Forsyth (at their own request) asked for certain action on this by Gen. Clark, who paid no attention to the matter — neglect which Forsyth blames as causing the later hostilities with Black Hawk. He praises that leader as always a friend to the whites, and says that when he came back to Illinois in 1832 with his people he had no intention of fighting, and did so only because they were first attacked by the whites and naturally undertook to defend themselves. — ED.

The Eagle Tribe have a peculiar monumental way of designating their dead from others by placing the trunk of a fallen tree at the head of their graves, with the roots upwards. The other tribes have also a peculiar way of marking their graves but I am not acquainted in what manner. All Indians that I am acquainted with are always unwilling to tell their names except when immediate necessity require it before many people, if you ask an Indian what his name is, he will not answer you, some other Indian present will generally answer for him: it is considered impolite to ask an Indian his name promptly: in speaking of an Indian not present, his name is mentioned, but if present the Indians will say, him, that man. If a few old acquaintances meet, they call one another comrade, uncle, nephew, brave, etc. Children while young are altogether under the guidance of their mothers, they seldom or ever whip their children particularly the boys. The mother reports to their children all the information she possesses relating to any great event that she recollects or has heard of. When a boy grows up to be able to hunt they follow their father a hunting, he shews them the different tracks of animals, and the art of hunting different animals, and the mode of preparing the medicine for the Beaver Traps and how to apply it, etc.

A female always keeps close to her mother until she gets married who teaches her how to make mocossins, drefs skins, make or construct a lodge, etc. Males after marriage or being once to war are considered men, yet if a young Indian has to serve for a wife, he has nothing to say in the disposal of his hunt until after the birth of the first child, after which he considers himself his own master, and master of his wife. In delivering to the Indians annuities or presents for the whole it is divided

among the poorer class of the Indians, the chief and braves seldom keep any of the annuities or presents for themselves. Old people are a very great incumbrance to their relations except the[y] live exclusively on the bank of rivers or creeks, where they may be easily transported in canoes. A great many of the old people of the Sauk and Fox Indians may be seen passing the winter on the banks of the Mississippi, they live on corn, pumpkins and such other provision as a boy or two can procure such as wild fowl, raccoons, etc. They are very indigent in the absence of their relations in the interior of the country yet never complain. All adopted children are treated as real children and considered in same light, it is often the case, a man may adopt his nephew whom he calls his son, and the nephew calls the uncle father. All young Indian children are tied up in an Indian cradle, I know of no difference made between the children untill the boys begin to hunt, then the mother shews a preference to the best hunter or the oldest (as it generally happens that they are all hunters in time) in giving them good leggins, mocosins, etc. The young females are also very industrious in attending on their brothers, as they well know the hardships their brothers endure in hunting. When young Indians grow up to seventeen or eighteen and their fathers are hard to them, they leave their parents, but when the young Indian begins to kill deer, they are seldom spoken harsh to, on the contrary, they are flattered with silver works, wampum, vermillion and other ornaments.

In the event of an Indian dying and leaving a family of children, the relations take care of them untill they are married, if the orphan children have no relations their situation is bad, but it is almost impossible for a child or children in the Sauk and Fox nations not to

have relations. The mother always takes care of her children, legitimate or illegitimate. It seldom happens that Indian women have more than one child at a birth, and I never heard of any Indian woman having more than two.

### *Marriages*

An Indian girl may become loose, and if she happens to be taken off by a young Indian in a summer hunting excursion (as it frequently happens) on his return he will give her parents part of his hunt, probably a horse, or some goods and a little whiskey, telling them that he means to keep their daughter as his wife: if the old people accept of the presents, the young couple live peaceably together with his or her relations, and so end that ceremony. A young Indian may see a girl whom he wishes for a wife, he watches opportunities to speak to her, if well received, he acquaints his parents: his parents not wishing to part with their son if he is a good hunter, the old people make an offer of goods or horses for the girl, and if they succeed they take home their daughter-in-law. On the contrary if the parents of the girl will not agree to receive property but insist on servitude, the young Indian must come to hunt for his wife's parents for same one, two, or three years as may be agreed on before the parents will relinquish their right to their daughter. I do not know of any marriage ceremony except the contract between the parties. An Indian may have two, three or more wives, but always prefer sisters as they agree better together in the same lodge, the eldest has generally the disposal of the hunt, purchase all the goods and regulate all the domestic affairs. Adultery among the Sauk and Fox Indians is punished by cutting off the ears, or cutting or biting off the nose of the woman, the punishment is generally per-

formed by the husband on the wife, however this seldom happens, and altho there are many loose girls among them, the married women are generally very constant. An Indian will not be blamed for committing the act, if he has not made use of force, the old women will say, he is a Kit-che-Waw-wan-ish-caw, i.e. a very worthless rake, however the injured husband might in a fit of jealousy kill both of them.

An Indian's wife is his property, and has it in his power to kill her if she acts badly without fear of revenge from her relations. There is no such thing as divorces, the Indians turn off their wives, and the wives leave their husbands when they become discontented, yet the husband can oblige his wife to return if he pleases. Women seldom leave their husbands and the Sauk and Fox Indians as seldom beat or maltreat their wives. An Indian will listen to a woman scold all day, and feel no way affected at what she may say. Barreness is generally the cause of separation among the Indians.

The Indian women never have more than one husband at a time, nor does an Indian ever marry the mother and daughter, they look with contempt on any man that would have connection with a mother and her daughter, he would be called a worthless dog. The relationship among Indians is drawn much closer than among us, for instance, brother's children consider themselves and call one another brothers and sisters and if the least relationship exists between an Indian and a girl it will prevent them from being married. An old Sauk chief who died a few years ago named Masco, told me that he was then upwards of ninety years of age, I hesitated to believe him, but he insisted on what he said to be true, he spoke of the taking of Canada by the British also about the French fort at Green Bay on Lake Michigan, mentioned

the French commandant's name Monsieur Marrin<sup>81</sup> which left no doubt with me of his being a very old man. There are now many very old people among the Sauk and Fox Indians but as all Indians are ignorant of their exact age, it is impossible to find out the age of any of the old people. It is very uncommon for unmarried women to have children, except it be those who live with whitemen for sometime, in that case, when they return to live with their nation, necessity compels them to accept the first offer that is made to them and they generally get some poor, lazy, worthless fellow who cannot procure a wife in the usual way.

There are few women among the Sauk and Fox Indians who are sterile: the proportion of sterile women to them who bear children, are about one to 500, it will not be too much to say, that each married woman on an average have three children. Girls seldom arrive at the age of sixteen without being married, fourteen is the usual age of getting married for the young girls, and we often see a girl of fourteen with her first child on her back, Indian women generally have a child the first year after marriage, and one every two years subsequent, they allow their children to suck at least twice as long as a whitewoman do, they generally leave off child bearing about the age of thirty.

### *Family Government, etc.*

The duties of an Indian is to hunt, to feed and clothe his wife and children, to purchase arms and ammunition for himself and sons, purchase kettles, axes, hoes, etc., to make canoes, paddles, poles, and saddles, to assist in

<sup>81</sup> There were two French officers named Marin in the northwestern Indian country, and their identity has been sometimes confused. Pierre Paul, sieur Marin was born in 1692, and was for a long time a trader among the Sioux and the Wisconsin Indians. From 1745 until his death in 1753, he held commands in the French-Canadian troops. His son Joseph followed also a military

working the canoes also in hunting, saddling and driving the horses.

The duties of the women<sup>82</sup> is to skin the animals when brot home, to stretch the skins and prepare them for market, to cook, to make the camp, to cut and carry wood, to make fires, to drefs leather, make mocosins and leggins, to plant, hoe and gather in the corn, beans, etc.,

career, from 1748 until the fall of Quebec (1763), when he returned to France. The man named Marin (or Morand) reported as living in Wisconsin after 1763 was probably a half-breed.—*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. xvii, 315. [Cf. also many references in indexes, vols. v, viii, xvi, xvii.—ED.]

<sup>82</sup> The position of woman in Indian society, especially as regards the division of labor has been misunderstood. In the idea that she was a mere drudge and slave, and her husband only indolent, there was some truth, but it was much overdrawn, "chiefly because the observations which suggest it were made about the camp and village, in which and in the neighboring fields lay the peculiar province of woman's activity." Her field of labor was naturally the home and household industries, and the rearing of the children, and among agricultural tribes generally tillage of the fields was largely woman's work; but she had some leisure time for amusement and social intercourse. "In an Indian community, where the food question is always a serious one, there can be no idle hands. The women were aided in their round of tasks by the children and old men. Where slavery existed their toil was further lightened by the aid of slaves, and in other tribes captives were often compelled to aid in the women's work.

"The men did all the hunting, fishing, and trapping, which in savagery are always toilsome, frequently dangerous, and not rarely fatal, especially in winter. The man alone bore arms, and to him belonged the chances and dangers of war." It was men also who attended to the making and administration of laws, the conduct of treaties, and the general regulation of tribal affairs, "though in these fields, women also had important prerogatives;" and important ceremonies and religious rites, and the memorizing of tribal records, and of treaties and rituals, were intrusted to the men. "The chief manual labor of the men was the manufacture of hunting and war implements, an important occupation that took much time." They also made the canoes, and often dressed the skins of animals, and sometimes even made the clothing for their wives. "Thus, in Indian society, the position of woman was usually subordinate, and the lines of demarcation between the duties of the sexes were everywhere sharply drawn. Nevertheless, the division of labor was not so unequal as it might seem to the casual observer, and it is difficult to understand how the line could have been more fairly drawn in a state of society where the military spirit was so dominant. Indian communities lived in constant danger of attack, and their men, whether in camp or on the march, must ever be ready at a moment's warning to seize their arms and defend their homes and families."

—HENRY W. HENSHAW, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

and to do all the drudgery. They will scold their husbands for getting drunk or parting with a favorite horse or wasting any property to purchase spiritous liquor, will scold their children for wasting or destroying any property. It is a maxim among the Indians that every thing belong to the woman or women except the Indian's hunting and war implements, even the game, the Indians bring home on his back. As soon as it enters the lodge, the man ceases to have anything to say in its disposal, properly speaking, the husband is master, the wife the slave, but it is in most cases voluntary slavery as the Indians seldom make their wives feel their authority, by words or deeds, they generally live very happy together, they on both sides make due allowances.

### *Medicines*

The Sauk and Fox Indians are much troubled with the pleurisy and sore eyes, one proceeds from their fatigue and exposure in hunting and war, the other I suppose from smoke in their lodges. They understand the use of medicine<sup>83</sup> necessary for the cure of the most

<sup>83</sup> "Many erroneous ideas of the practice of medicine among the Indians are current, often fostered by quacks who claim to have received herbs and methods of practice from noted Indian doctors. The medical art among all Indians was rooted in sorcery; and the prevailing idea that diseases were caused by the presence or acts of evil spirits, which could be removed only by sorcery and incantation, controlled diagnosis and treatment. This conception gave rise to both priest and physician. Combined with it there grew up a certain knowledge of and dependence upon simples, one important development of which was what we know as the doctrine of signatures, according to which, in some cases, the color, shape, and markings of plants are supposed to indicate the organs for which in disease they are supposed to be specifics. There was current in many tribes, especially among the old women, a rude knowledge of the therapeutic use of a considerable number of plants and roots, and of the sweating process, which was employed with little discrimination."

— HENRY W. HENSHAW, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

Many of the medicinal roots of eastern and southern United States were adopted by the whites from the Indian pharmacopeia; some of these are still known by their native names, and about forty are quoted in current price lists of crude drugs. Indians formerly gathered medicinal roots to supply the trade

complaints, they are subject to, they make the use of purgatives and emetics, some of them operate promptly, some of the Indians understand the art of bleeding, and make use of the lancet or penknife for that purpose, they make use of decoctions of roots, and there are few die for want of medicines, probably some die from taking too much.

### *Anatomy*

I am informed that the Indians in general are much better acquainted with the anatomy of the human body, than the commonalty of white people, and in many instances, making surprising cures, they are very successful in the treatment of wounds: I have known many to have been cured after having been shot in the body with ball and arrows, they are rather rough in their surgical operations, they cut away with a small knife, and I have seen them make use of a pair of old scissors, to extract an arrow point stuck in the thigh bone, and succeeded after much carving to get at it. Every Indian is acquainted either more or less with the use of common medicines, in extreme cures [*sc.* cases], they apply to some of their most celebrated jugglers, they in addition to their medicine make use of superstitious ceremonies, to impress on the minds of the sick, or the persons present, that he makes use of supernatural means for the recovery of the person sick: also that the sick persons is bewitched and will work away making use of the most ludicrous experiments all of which is swallowed by the credulous Indians. The conjuror or Manatoo-Caw-So

that arose after the coming of the whites. Many roots were exported, especially ginseng, in which there was an extensive commerce with China; and, curiously enough, the Iroquois name for the plant has the same meaning as the Chinese name." — WALTER HOUGH, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

See the list of trees and plants used for medicinal purposes by the Chippewa in Minnesota, in Hoffman's "Midé'wiwin of the Ojibwa," in *Seventh annual Report of the Bureau of Amer. Ethnology*, 198-201. — ED.

or doctor are feared by the bulk of the Indians, and never dare to do any thing to displease them.

### *Astronomy*

The general opinion of all Indians is, that the earth is flat, and [they] appear to be acquainted with several stars, they know all the fixed stars, and have names for them all, also for others that apparently change their position, the[y] regulate their seasons as well by the stars as by the moon. The year the[y] divide into four seasons, as we do. Spring—Man-no-cum-ink. Summer—Pen-a-wick. Autumn—Tuc-quock. Winter—Pap-po-en. Also into twelve moons as follows:

Tuc-wot-thu	Keeshis	First frosty moon commencing in		Sept.
Amulo	"	Rutting	"	October
Puccume	"	Freezing	"	November
Kiche Muqua	"	Big Bear	"	December
Chuckee Muqua	"	Little Bear	"	January
Tuc-wun-nee	"	Cold	"	February
Pa-puc-qua	"	Sap	"	March
A-paw-in-eck-kee	"	Fish	"	April
Uc-kee-kay	"	Planting	"	May
Pa-la-nee	"	First summer or flowering moon		June
Na-pen-nee	"	Midsummer moon		July
Mish-a-way	"	Elk	"	August

Their year is quoted as the[y] are placed in the above list of moons, commencing with the moon that changes in September, being the time the[y] usually leave their villages (after saving their corn) to go westward to make their fall and winter's hunt. The Sauk and Fox Indians say that the Great Spirit made every thing, the earth, moon, sun, stars, etc., all kinds of birds, beasts, and fishes, and all for the use of the Indians. As a proof they say, that it is only in their country that the buffaloe, elk, deer, bear, etc., are to be found, therefore they were specially intended for the Indians. To the

white people the Great Spirit gave the book, and taught them the use of it, which the Great Spirit thought was absolutely necessary for them to guide them through life: he also shewed them how to make blankets, guns, and gunpowder, all of which were special gifts to the whites. The use of letters particularly astonish them, and the[y] hold writing of any sort in great esteem, they have many papers among them of sixty and seventy years old in the French and Spanish languages, they take care of all old papers, without knowing any thing of the purport of them: the old papers are generally recommendations formerly written by French and Spanish commandants, commonly called patents by the French and Spaniards.

The Indians do not like to see eclipses of the sun or moon, they say that some bad munitoo is about to hide and devour the sun or moon, the Indians always fire at the eclipse to drive away the munitoo, which they think they succeed in when the eclipse is over. The Indians also fire ball at any comet, or bright star, which they think are munitoos.

All Indians can count as far as 1,000, which they call a big hundred, a great many can count to 10,000. They know as much of arithmetic as is sufficient to do their own business, altho they have no particular mark to represent numbers. The method the Indians describe north, east, south, and west, is as follows. They point to the north (or at night to the north star which they call the immoveable star) which they call the cold country: south the warm country, east the rising sun, west the setting sun. The Indians are excellent judges of the weather, and I have known them prepare for rain, when I could observe no signs whatever. Met[e]ors they cannot comprehend, they call them munitoos. In mak-

ing calculations for the appearance of the new moon, they say, in so many days the present moon will die, and in so many more days, the next moon will hang in the firmament (or the moon will be visible).

Few of the Indians know any thing of Europe, or the ocean, the little they know, they have learned it from the traders.

### *Music*

The only musical instruments the Sauk and Fox Indians make use of, is the flute, made of a piece of cane of two pieces of soft wood hallowed out and tied together with leather thongs, also a drum, which they beat with a stick, the flute they blow at one end, and except the key it is something like a flagelet. They beat the drum at all kinds of feasts, dances, and games, they dance keeping time with the tap of the drum, their tunes are generally melancholly, they are always on a flat key, and contain many variations, they have a peculiar mode of telling stories, elegantly illustrated with metaphor and similie, in telling their stories they always retain something to the last, which is necessary to explain the whole.

### *Religion*

The Sauk and Fox Indians believe in one great and good Spirit,<sup>84</sup> who superintends and commands all things, and that there are many supernatural agents or

<sup>84</sup> "Among the many erroneous conceptions regarding the Indian none has taken deeper root than the one which ascribes to him belief in an overruling deity, the 'Great Spirit.' Very far removed from this tremendous conception of one all-powerful deity was the Indian belief in a multitude of spirits that dwelt in animate and inanimate objects, to propitiate which was the chief object of his supplications and sacrifices. To none of his deities did the Indian ascribe moral good or evil. His religion was practical. The spirits were the source of good or bad fortune, whether on the hunting path or the war trail, in the pursuit of a wife or in a ball game. If successful he adored, offered sacrifices, and made valuable presents. If unsuccessful he cast his manito away and offered his faith to more powerful or more friendly deities. In this world

munitoos permitted by the Great Spirit to interfere in the concerns of the Indians.

They believe the thunder presides over the destinies of war, also Mache-muntitoo or bad Spirit is subordinate to Kee-shay-Munitoo or the Great Spirit, but that the bad Spirit is permitted (occasionally) to revenge himself on mankind thro the agency of bad medicine, poisonous reptiles, killing horses, sinking canoes, etc., every accident that befalls them, they impute to the bad Spirit's machinations, but at same time, conceive it is allowed to be so, in atonement for some part of their misdeeds. All Indians believe in ghosts, and when they imagine they have seen a ghost, the friends of the deceased immediately give a feast and hang up some clothing as an offering to pacify the troubled spirit of the deceased; they pray by singing over certain words before they lay down at night, they hum over a prayer also about sunrise in the morning. The Sauk and Fox Indians are very religious so far as ceremony is concerned, and even in passing any extraordinary cave, rock, hill, etc., they leave behind them a little tobacco for the munitoo, who they suppose lives there. There is a particular society among the Sauk and Fox Indians (and I believe among some other nations of Indians), the particulars of which, I understand is never divulged by any of the society. They hold their meetings in secret, and what ever passes among them at their meetings, is never spoken of by any of them elsewhere, this society is composed of some of the best and most sensible men in the two nations.<sup>85</sup> I have given myself

of spirits the Indian dwelt in perpetual fear. He feared to offend the spirits of the mountains, of the dark wood, of the lake, of the prairie."

— HENRY W. HENSHAW, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

<sup>85</sup> "Societies or brotherhoods of a secret and usually sacred character existed among very many American tribes, among many more, doubtless, than those from which there is definite information. On the plains the larger number of

much trouble to find out the particulars of this society, but have been able to succeed in a very small part only. The Indians of this society are called the Great Medicine men, and when a young Indian wish to become one of the society, he applies to one of the members to intercede for him, saying "you can vouch for me as

these were war societies, and they were graded in accordance with the age and attainments of the members. The Buffalo Society was a very important body devoted to healing disease. The Omaha and Pawnee seem to have had a great number of societies, organized for all sorts of purposes. There were societies concerned with the religious mysteries, with the keeping of records, and with the dramatization of myths, ethical societies, and societies of mirth-makers, who strove in their performances to reverse the natural order of things. We find also a society considered able to will people to death, a society of 'big-bellied men,' and among the Cheyenne a society of fire-walkers, who trod upon fires with their bare feet until the flames were extinguished." Hoffman describes the Grand Medicine society, or Midē'wiwin, and its four degrees; "as a result of these initiations the spiritual insight and power, especially the power to cure disease, was successively increased, while on the purely material side the novitiate received instruction regarding the medicinal virtues of many plants. The name of this society in the form *medeu* occurs in Delaware, where it was applied to a class of healers." — JOHN R. SWANTON, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*, art. "Secret societies."

W. J. Hoffman says in his paper on the above-named "Grand Medicine Society" of the Chippewa (or Ojibwa) — which was published in the *Seventh annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology (1885-1886), 143-299 — in speaking of the opposition made by the medicine-men (often called sorcerers), from the outset, to the introduction of Christianity: "In the light of recent investigation the cause of this antagonism is seen to lie in the fact that the traditions of Indian genesis and cosmogony and the ritual of initiation into the Society of the Midē' constitute what is to them a religion, even more powerful and impressive than the Christian religion is to the average civilized man. This opposition still exists among the leading classes of a number of the Algonkian tribes, and especially among the Ojibwa, many bands of whom have been more or less isolated and beyond convenient reach of the church. The purposes of the society are twofold: first, to preserve the traditions just mentioned, and, second, to give a certain class of ambitious men and women sufficient influence through their acknowledged power of exorcism and necromancy to lead a comfortable life at the expense of the credulous. The persons admitted into the society are firmly believed to possess the power of communing with various supernatural beings — manidos — and in order that certain desires may be realized they are sought after and consulted" (page 151). Hoffman made personal investigations among the Ojibwa during the years 1887-1889, at Leech Lake, Minn., to obtain data for this paper, and much of his information was furnished directly by the shamans ("medicine-men") themselves. — ED.

being a good Indian, etc.," the friend of the applicant mentions the circumstance to the headman of the society, who gives an answer in a few days after consulting others of the society, if the applicant is admitted, his friend is directed to prepare him accordingly, but what the preparation, etc., is, I never could find out, but no Indian can be admitted until the expiration of one year, after application is made. This society or Great Medicine consists of four roads (or as we would call them, degrees) and it requires to do something to gain the first road, and so on to the second, third, fourth roads or degrees. It costs an Indian from forty to fifty dollars in goods, or other articles to be initiated or admitted into this society, and am told there are but few of them who can gain the end of the fourth road. A trader once, offered fifty dollars in goods to a particular Indian friend of his, who is the head or principal man of this society among the Sauk and Fox Indians, to be allowed to be present at one of their meetings, but was refused. Age has nothing to do with an applicant who wishes to become a member of this society, as I have been told the Minnominnie Indians admit boys of fourteen and fifteen years of age, but the Sauk and Fox Indians will not admit any so young. The Sauk and Fox Indians believe in wizards and witches and none but their jugglers have power to allay them.

### *General Manners and Customs*

The Sauk and Fox Indians (like all other Indians) did formerly eat human flesh, and in their war excursions would always bring home pieces of the flesh of some of their enemies killed in battle, which they would eat, but for the last forty or fifty years they have abandoned that vile practice, and sometimes will yet bring home a small piece of human flesh of their enemies for

their little children to gnaw, to render them brave as they say. The Sauk and Fox and all other Indians that I am acquainted with have no particular salutation in meeting or parting from each other, with the whiteman they will shake hands in deference to our custom. The Sauk Indians pay great respect to their chiefs when assembled in council, but the Fox Indians are quite to the contrary, they pay no respect to their chiefs at any time, except necessity compels them, but as there are so much equality among all Indians, the chiefs seldom dare insult a private individual.<sup>88</sup> The Indians have no language like our profane cursing and swearing, they on emergencies appeal to the deity to witness the truth of their statements. They will say such a man is a worthless dog, a bad Indian, etc. Friendship between two Indians as comrades has no cold medium to it, an Indian in love is a silly looking mortal, he cannot eat, drink, or sleep, he appears to be deranged and with all the pains he takes to conceal his passion, yet it is so visible that all his friends know what is the matter with

<sup>88</sup> "Equality and independence were the cardinal principles of Indian society. In some tribes, as the Iroquois, certain of the highest chieftaincies were confined to certain clans, and these may be said in a modified sense to have been hereditary; and there were also hereditary chieftaincies among the Apache, Chippewa, Sioux, and other tribes. Practically, however, the offices within the limits of the tribal government were purely elective. The ability of the candidates, their courage, eloquence, previous services, above all, their personal popularity, formed the basis for election to any and all offices. Except among the Natchez and a few other tribes of the lower Mississippi, no power in any wise analogous to that of the despot, no rank savoring of inheritance, as we understand the term, existed among our Indians. Even military service was not compulsory, but he who would might organize a war party, and the courage and known prowess in war of the leader chiefly determined the number of his followers. So loose were the ties of authority on the war-path that a bad dream or an unlucky presage was enough to diminish the number of the war party at any time, or even to break it up entirely. . . . The fact is that social and political organization was of the lowest kind; the very name of tribe, with implication of a body bound together by social ties and under some central authority, is of very uncertain application." — HENRY W. HENSHAW, in *Hand-book Amer. Indians*, art. "Popular fallacies."

him. They never laugh at him but rather pity him. After an Indian returns home from hunting he will throw his game at the door of the lodge, enter in, put away his gun, undress his leggins and mocosins, and sit down without speaking a word with his head between his knees: immediately some thing to eat is placed before him, after eating heartily he looks at his wife or friends, smiles, and enters into conversation with them about what he has seen extraordinary during the day a hunting. Their power of recollection don't seem to be as strong as ours, many circumstances that have occurred within my recollection they have totally forgot. The Indians have only one way of building their bark huts or summer residences, they are built in the form of an oblong, a bench on each of the long sides about three feet high and four feet wide, paralel to each other, a door at each end, and a pasage thro the center of about six feet wide, some of those huts, are fifty or sixty feet long and capable of lodging fifty or sixty persons. Their winter lodges are made by driving long poles in the ground in two rows nearly at equal distances from each other, bending the tops so as to overlap each other, then covering them with mats made of what they call puc-wy<sup>87</sup> a kind of rushes or flags, a Bearskin generally serves for a door, which is suspended at the top and hangs down, when finished it is not unlike an oven with the fire in the

<sup>87</sup> *Puc-wy*: a corruption of Ojibwa *apakweiashk*, meaning "roof-mat grass;" the "cat-tail flag" (*Typha latifolia*) the leaves of which are used for making mats for covering wigwams (*apakweiak*, plural of *apakwei*, from a root meaning "to roof"). The rush used for making floor-mats (*anâkanak*, from a root meaning "to spread out upon the ground") is the widely-distributed bulrush (*Scirpus lacustris*), called by the Ojibwa *anâkanashk*, or "floor-mat grass." The root of this rush, in California called "tule" (from Mexican *tolin*) is much eaten by some Indians; it affords a white, sweet, and very nutritious flour.

— WM. R. GERARD.

Lake Puckaway, in Green Lake County, Wis., is evidently named for this plant. — Ed.

center and the smoke omits thro the top. The Indians are acquainted with the various ways in which different nations of Indians encamp, and when they happen to come to an old encampment they can tell by the signs, the peculiar mode of making spits to roast their meat on, etc., whether it was their own people or whom and how many days old the encampment was, also which way they came and which way they went. The reasons that the Indians spare the lives of snakes is thro fear of offending them, they wish to be friendly with the whole family of snakes particularly the venemous kinds, they frequently throw them tobacco and to the dead ones they lay a few scraps of tobacco close to their heads.

*Food, Mode of Living, Cooking Meals, etc.*

There are few animals a hungry Indian will not eat, but the preference is always given to venison or bear's meat, and are the chief kinds of meat they eat, they feel always at a loss without corn, even in the midst of meat. Corn with beans and dried pumpkins well prepared, and sweet corn boiled with fat venison, ducks, or turkeys, are delicious in the extreme. The Sauk and Fox Indians eat but few roasts, as they raise an immensity of corn, they sometimes make use of the wild potatoe a-pin, and the bear potatoe or Muco-co-pin also wah-co-pin or crooked root, Wab-bis-see-pin or Swan root.<sup>88</sup> They

<sup>88</sup> "The Indians put the roots and other valuable parts of plants to a greater variety of uses than they did animal or mineral substances, even in the arid region, though plants with edible roots are limited mainly to the areas having abundant rainfall. The more important uses of roots were for food, for medicine, and for dyes, but there were many other uses, as for basketry, cordage, fire-sticks, cement, etc., and for chewing, making salt, and flavoring. Plants of the lily family furnished the most abundant and useful root food of the Indians throughout the United States. . . The tubers of the arrowhead plant (*Sagittaria arifolia* and *S. latifolia*), wappatoo in Algonquian, were widely used in the northwest for food. . . The Chippewa and Atlantic coast Indians also made use of them. . . The Sioux varied their diet with roots of the Indian turnip, two kinds of water-lily, the water grass, and the

do not make much use of wild rice, because they have little or none in their country, except when they procure some from the Winnebagoes or Minnominnie Indians. They most generally boil every thing into soup. I never knew them to eat raw meat, and meat seems to disgust them when it is not done thoroughly. They use fish only when they are scarce of tallow in summer, then they go and spear fish both by night and day, but it appears they only eat fish from necessity. The old women set the kettle a boiling in the night, and about day break all eat whatever they have got, they eat in the course of the day as often as they are hungry, the kettle is on the fire constantly suspended from the roof of the lodge, every one has his wooden dish or bowl and wooden spoon<sup>89</sup> or as they call it Me-quen which they carry

*modo* of the Sioux, called by the French *pomme de terre*, the ground-nut (*Apios apios*). To these may be added the tuber of milkweed (*Asclepias tuberosa*), valued by the Sioux of the upper Platte, and the root of the Jerusalem artichoke (*Helianthus tuberosa*), eaten by the Dakota of St. Croix River. . . The Miami, Shawnee, and other tribes of the middle west ate the 'man of the earth' (*Ipomœa pandurata*) and Jerusalem artichoke (*Helianthus tuberosa*). . . The Hopi, Zûni, and other tribes eat the tubers of the wild potato (*Solanum jamesii*). The southern and eastern tribes also made use of the potato. Though this acrid tuber is unpalatable and requires much preparation to render it suitable for food, many tribes recognized its value. The Navaho, especially, dug and consumed large quantities of it, and, on account of the griping caused by eating it, they ate clay with it as a palliative. . . Harriot mentions (*Briefs and True Report*, 1590) six plants the roots of which were valued as food by the Virginia Indians, giving the native name, appearance, occurrence, and method of preparation. . . Although the use of edible roots by the Indians was general, they nowhere practiced root cultivation, even in its incipient stages. In the United States the higher agriculture, represented by maize cultivation, seems to have been directly adopted by tribes which had not advanced to the stages of root cultivation." — WALTER HOUGH, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

<sup>89</sup> "With the Indian the bowl serves a multitude of purposes; it is associated with the supply of his simplest needs as well as with his religion. The materials employed in making bowls are stone (especially soapstone), horn, bone, shell, skin, wood, and bark. Bowls are often adapted to natural forms, as shells, gourds, and concretions, either unmodified or more or less fully remodeled, and basket bowls are used by many tribes." They were used in preparing and serving food, for the drying, gathering, etc. of seeds in games of chance and divination, and in religious ceremonies; and "the most ancient

along with them when they are invited to feasts. Their cooking are not very clean, they seldom wash their kettles, dishes or meat, the old women will sometimes by way of cleanliness wipe the dish with her fingers.

*Games, Dances, etc.*

The Sauk and Fox Indians have many games, such as the mocosin, the platter, etc. Their most active game is what they call Puc-a-haw-thaw-waw, it is not unlike what we call shinny or bandy, they make use of a yarn ball covered with leather, the women also play this game, also the platter which is exclusively theirs. Running foot races and horses they are very fond of. The Sauk and Fox nations have dances peculiar to themselves, also others they have adopted from other nations. The[y] dance the buffallow-dance and the otter dance, in dancing the buffallow-dance, they are dressed with the pate of a buffallow skin with the horns, they imitate the buffallow by throwing themselves into different postures, also by mimicing his groans, attempting to horn each other, keeping exact time with the drum, the women often join in these dances, but remain nearly in the same spot (while dancing) and singing in a shrill voice above the men. The medicine dance or Mit-tee-wee, all those who belong to that fraternity, are made

permanent cooking utensil of the plains tribes was a bowl made by hollowing out a stone." — *Handbook Amer. Indians.*

Spoons and ladles were used among all tribes of the United States; they were made of a great variety of materials—stone, shell, bone, horn, wood, gourd, pottery, etc.—and in size were larger than European utensils of this sort. Wood was the most usual material for these articles; and some of the tribes on the northwest coast made them of highly artistic form and decoration. Among the eastern and southern Indians from New York to Florida they were made with the pointed bowl, a form which occurs in no other part of the United States. "Gourds were extensively used and their forms were often repeated in pottery." Spoons of shell were common where shells were available, and artistically wrought specimens have been found in the mounds.

— WALTER HOUGH, in *Handbook Amer. Indians.*

acquainted by some of the head persons, that on a certain day, the whole will assemble at a particular place; on the day appointed they make a shade, both males and females make their best appearance, they have two drums on the occasion, the business is opened with a prayer from one of the members, after which the drummers sing a doleful ditty, beating at same time on their drums, each person male and female are provided with a sac or pouch of the whole skin of some animal as the raccoon, mink, marten, fisher, and otter, but generally of the last mentioned: one of the elders get up and commence dancing round the inside of the lodge, another follows, and so on untill they are all in motion, as they pass by each other, they point the nose of the sacs or pouches at each other blowing a whiff at the same time, the person so pointed at, will fall down on the ground apparently in pain, and immediately get up again and touch some other one in turn, who will do the same in succession, etc. The Sauk and Fox Indians play at cards, and frequently play high, they bet horses, wampum, silver works, etc. They frequently in the summer season have sham battles, a party of footmen undertake to conduct to their village some friends, they on their journey are attacked by a party of horsemen who rush on them from the woods and surround them, the footmen throw themselves into the form of a hollow square, the horsemen are armed with pistols, the footmen receive them with a volley, and beat them off, and are again attacked from another quarter and so on alternately untill they succeed in bringing their friends safe to their village. In those encounters many get thrown from their horses and sometimes, the footmen get trampled on by the horses, but during the whole of the transaction nothing like anger makes its appearance,

they all retire on the best terms with each other, and it would be considered as shameful and to much like a woman for a man to become angry in play.<sup>90</sup>

### *International Law of Relations*

The Sauk and Fox Nations of Indians are in very strict alliance with each other, indeed their affinity are

<sup>90</sup> "When not bound down by stern necessity, the Indian at home was occupied much of the time with dancing, feasting, gaming, and story-telling. Though most of the dances were religious or otherwise ceremonial in character, there were some which had no other purpose than that of social pleasure. They might take place in the day or the night, be general or confined to particular societies, and usually were accompanied with the drum or other musical instrument to accentuate the song. The rattle was perhaps invariably used only in ceremonial dances. Many dances were of pantomimic or dramatic character, and the Eskimo had regular pantomime plays, though evidently due to Indian influence. The giving of presents was often a feature of the dance, as was betting of all athletic contests and ordinary games. . . . From Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Atlantic to the border of the plains, the great athletic game was the ball play, now adopted among civilized games under the name of 'lacrosse.' In the north it was played with one racket, and in the south with two. Athletes were regularly trained for this game, and competitions were frequently intertribal. The wheel-and-stick game in one form or another was well-nigh universal. . . . Like most Indian institutions, the game often had a symbolic significance in connection with a sun myth. . . . Target practice with arrows, knives, or hatchets, thrown from the hand, as well as with the bow or rifle, was also universal among the warriors and boys of the various tribes. The gaming arrows were of special design and ornamentation, and the game itself often had a symbolic purpose. . . . Games resembling dice and hunt-the-button were found everywhere and were played by both sexes alike, particularly in the tipi or the wigwam during the long winter nights. . . . Investigations by Culin show a close correspondence between these Indian games and those of China, Japan, Korea, and northern Asia. Special women's games were shinny, football, and the deer-foot game, besides the awl game already noted. . . . Among the children there were target shooting, stilts, slings, and tops for the boys, and buckskin dolls and playing-house for the girls, with 'wolf' or 'catcher,' and various forfeit plays, including a breath-holding test. Cats'-cradles, or string figures, as well as shuttlecocks and buzzes, were common. As among civilized nations, the children found the greatest delight in imitating the occupations of the elders. Numerous references to amusements among the various tribes may be found throughout the annual reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Consult especially 'Games of the American Indians,' by Stewart Culin, in the 24th Report, 1905." — JAMES MOONEY, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*, art. "Amusements."

doubly rivited by intermarriages, similarity of manners and customs as also in the similarity of language. I have never heard where their council fire is but believe it to be at the Sauk Village on the Rocky River, it may be elsewhere. The alliance between the Sauk and Fox Indians and the Ofsages was made at the Ofsage village on the Ofsage River which falls into the Mifsouri River. The alliance between the Sauk and Fox Nations and the Kicapoo Nation of Indians, was formed at the Sauk Village as above described. All those Nations of Indians except the Ofsages have long since joined the General Confederacy at Browns Town in Michigan Territory, and it still exists. The Sauk and Fox Indians have no national badge that I know, they call the Shawanoes and Kicapoops their elder brothers. Every nation of Indians think themselves as great as any other, and I never heard of any relative rank among the different nations of Indians, except what has been said about the council fire at Brownstown.

### *Hunting*

About the middle of September (some years later) the Sauk and Fox Indians all begin to move from their villages to go towards the country the[y] mean to hunt during the ensuing winter, they generally go westwards in the interiour on the head waters of Ihoway and Demoine Rivers and some go beyond those rivers quite in the interiour of the country. There are some who have no horses as also many old people who descend the Mifsissippi River in canoes as far as the Ihoway, Scunk and other rivers and ascend those rivers to the different places where they mean to pafs the winter a hunting. Those Indians who have a sufficiency of horses to transport their families and baggage go as far westward in their hunting excursions as the Mifsouri River and

sometimes are invited by the Kansez and other Indians to cross the Missouri River and hunt in this country as far westward on small streams that fall into Arkansas River. They generally stop hunting deer when the winter begins to be severe and form themselves into grand encampments to pass the remainder of the winter or severe weather. They at this time are visited by their traders who go and receive their credits and also trade with them.<sup>91</sup> On opening of the spring those that have traps go to beaver hunting others to hunt bear and they generally finish their hunt about the 10<sup>th</sup> of April. They formerly had general hunting parties or excursions before the buffaloe removed so far westward. It is customary to make a feast of the first animal killed by each party, the whole are invited with some ceremony. In case of sickness they feast on dog's meat and sacrifice dogs by killing them with an axe, tying them to a sapling with their noses pointed east or west and painted with vermillion. When strangers of another nation visit their villages, the crier makes a long harangue thro the village in a loud voice, to use the strangers well, while they stay, etc. The strangers may be invited to several feasts in the course of the same day, while the[y] remain at the village; however particular Indians give feasts to particular individuals, their particular friends and relations, and the custom of feasting strangers is not so common now among the Sauk and Fox Indians as formerly, or as is at present among the Indians of Missouri.

The Sauk and Fox Indians will on great emergencies hold a general feast throughout their nations, to avert

<sup>91</sup> In the *Forsyth Mss.* (vol. iii, doc. 1) is a list of the licenses to traders granted by Forsyth at the Rock River agency, 1822-1827. Twenty-six licenses, sometimes more than one to the same person, are described, all issued for one year. The number of clerks for each varied from one to six; and the capital employed, from \$518.16 to \$6,814.71. — ED.

some expected general calamity, while the magicians are praying to the Great Spirit and making use of numerous ceremonies.

It is a very mistaken idea among many of the white people to suppose, that the Indians have not hair on every part of their body, that they have both males and females: they pull it out with an instrument made of brafs wire in the form of a gun worm. They consider it indecent to let it grow.

The Sauk and Fox Indians shave their heads except a small patch on the crown, which they are very fond of dresing and plaiting, the[y] suspend several ornaments to it of horse or deer's hair died red as also silver ornaments, feathers of birds, etc., they paint their faces red with vermillion, green with verdigrease and black with charcoal, their prevailing colour is red, except before or after coming from war, after returning from war they divest themselves of all their ornaments, wear dirt on their heads, and refrain from using vermillion for one year. The women tye their hair in a club with some worsted binding, red, blue, or green but the former is preferred leaving two ends to hang down their backs.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>92</sup> "The motive of personal adornment, aside from the desire to appear attractive, seems to have been to mark individual, tribal, or ceremonial distinction. The use of paint on the face, hair, and body, both in color and design, generally had reference to individual or clan beliefs, or it indicated relationship or personal bereavement, or was an act of courtesy. It was always employed in ceremonies, religious and secular, and was an accompaniment of gala dress donned to honor a guest or to celebrate an occasion. The face of the dead was frequently painted in accordance with tribal or religious symbolism. The practice of painting was widespread and was observed by both sexes. Paint was also put on the faces of adults and children as a protection against wind and sun." Other forms of adornment consisted in plucking out the hairs on the face and body, head-flattening, tattooing, the use of fat, and that of perfumes; and the wearing of earrings, labrets, and nose-rings. Garments were often elaborately ornamented—among the inland tribes largely with porcupine and feather quills, which were later replaced by beads of European manufacture—and sometimes were painted. Such work was not only decorative, but often symbolic, ceremonial, or even historical.—ALICE C. FLETCHER, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

The Indians admire our manufactories but more particularly guns and gunpowder, but many old Indians say they were more happy before they knew the use of fire arms, because, they then could kill as much game as they wanted, not being then compelled to destroy game to purchase our merchandise as they are now obliged to do.

They say that the white people's thirst after land is so great that they are never contented untill they have a belly full of it, the Indians compare a white settlement in their neighbourhood to a drop of raccoon's grease falling on a new blanket the drop at first is scarcely perceptible, but in time covers almost the whole blanket. The Sauk and Fox Indians do almost all their carrying on horseback and in canoes, if any carrying is obliged to be done for want of horses, the women have to shoulder it. Among the Sauk and Fox Indians the young men are most generally handsome, well made, and extremely modest.

The young men and women, when they begin to think of marrying use vermilion. I have observed in the course of my life, that Indians are not now so stout and robust as formerly, in general they are very atheletic with good constitutions, yet whatever may be the cause, they have not the strength we have. Their general height is about five feet, eight inches, a great many of the old people are much taller, however they are not in my opinion degenerating. It is impossible to ascertain the proportion of births to the deaths but it is well known they are on the increase.<sup>93</sup> In a conversation I had with Keeocuck the most intelligent Indian among

<sup>93</sup> "It has been supposed that, in his physiologic functions the Indian differs considerably from the white man, but the greater our knowledge in this direction the fewer the differences appear; there is, however, a certain lack of uniformity in this respect between the two races." The development and life of

the Sauk and Fox Indians (and a Sauk by birth) last summer (1826) he told me the Sauk Nation could furnish twelve hundred warriors, three fourths of which were well armed with good rifles and remainder with shot guns and some few with bows and arrows. The Sauk and Fox Indians encourage polygamy and the adoption of other Indians in their nations, which serves to augment their nations rapidly. All belts of wampum are presented in council (after speaking) by the prin-

the Indian infant are quite similar to those of the white child. The period of puberty is notably alike in the two races. Marriage takes place earlier among the Indians than among the whites; "only few girls of more than eighteen years, and few young men of more than twenty-two years, are unmarried," and sometimes girls marry at thirteen to fifteen years. "Indian women bear children early, and the infants of even the youngest mothers seem in no way defective. The birth rate is generally high, from six to nine births in a family being usual. . . The adult life of the Indian offers nothing radically different from that of ordinary whites. The supposed early aging of Indian women is by no means general and is not characteristic of the race; when it occurs, it is due to the conditions surrounding the life of the individual. . . But few of them know their actual age. . . The longevity of the Indian is very much like that of a healthy white man. There are individuals who reach the age of one hundred years and more, but they are exceptional. Among aged Indians there is usually little decrepitude. Aged women predominate somewhat in numbers over aged men."

"Among the more primitive tribes, who often pass through periods of want, capacity for food is larger than in the average whites. Real excesses in eating are witnessed among such tribes, but principally at feasts. On the reservations, and under ordinary circumstances, the consumption of food by the Indian is usually moderate. All Indians readily develop a strong inclination for and are easily affected by alcoholic drinks. The average Indian ordinarily passes somewhat more time in sleep than the civilized white man; on the other hand, he manifests considerable capacity for enduring its loss."

"Dreams are frequent and variable. Illusions or hallucinations in healthy individuals and under ordinary conditions have not been observed. . . The sight, hearing, smell, and taste of the Indian, so far as can be judged from unaided but extended observation, are in no way peculiar. . . The physical endurance of Indians on general occasions probably exceeds that of the whites. The Indian easily sustains long walking or running, hunger and thirst, severe sweating, etc.; but he often tires readily when subjected to steady work. His mental endurance, however, except when he may be engaged in ceremonies or games, or on other occasions which produce special mental excitement, is but moderate; an hour of questioning almost invariably produces mental fatigue."

—*Handbook Amer. Indians.*

cipal chiefs, the principal brave or chief of the soldiers also delivers his speech and wampum in public council when it is a national affair or that they wish to do any thing permanent. They make use of no heiroglyphicks except painting on a tree or rock or on a post at the head of graves,<sup>94</sup> the representation of the tribe the person belong to, the number of scalps and prisoners taken from the enemy, etc. Strings or belts of white wampum are occasionally sent with a piece of tobacco tied to the end

<sup>94</sup> "Pictography may be defined as that form of thought-writing which seeks to convey ideas by means of picture-signs or marks more or less suggestive or imitative of the object or idea in mind. Significance, therefore, is an essential element of pictographs, which are alike in that they all express thought, register a fact, or convey a message. Pictographs, on the one hand, are more or less closely connected with sign language, by which they may have been preceded in point of time;" and, on the other hand, "with every varying form of script and print, past and present, the latter being, in fact, derived directly or indirectly from them." Picture-signs have been employed by all uncivilized peoples, but "it is chiefly to the American Indian we must look for a comprehensive knowledge of their use and purpose, since among them alone were both pictographs and sign language found in full and significant employ. Pictographs have been made upon a great variety of objects, a favorite being the human body. Among other natural substances, recourse by the pictographer has been had to stone, bone, skins, feathers and quills, gourds, shells, earth and sand, copper, and wood, while textile and fictile fabrics figure prominently in the list. . .

"From the earliest form of picture-writing, the imitative, the Indian had progressed so far as to frame his conceptions ideographically, and even to express abstract ideas. Later, as skill was acquired, his figures became more and more conventionalized till in many cases all semblance of the original was lost, and the ideograph became a mere symbol. While the great body of Indian glyphs remained pure ideographs, symbols were by no means uncommonly employed, especially to express religious subjects, and a rich color symbolism likewise was developed, notably in the southwest." Usually the Indian glyphs "are of individual origin, are obscured by conventionalism, and require for their interpretation a knowledge of their makers and of the customs and events of the times, which usually are wanting" — hence the need of great caution, and frequent failure, in trying to explain them. Nevertheless, "their study is important. These pictures on skin, bark, and stone, crude in execution as they often are, yet represent the first artistic records of ancient, though probably not of primitive man. In them lies the germ of achievement which time and effort have developed into the masterpieces of modern eras. Nor is the study of pictographs less important as affording a glimpse into the psychological workings of the mind of early man in his struggles upward." — HENRY W. HENSHAW, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

of it as a friendly message or invitation from one nation to another for the purpose of opening the way to an adjustment of differences or any other subject of importance. Blue wampum painted red, with tobacco in the same manner denotes hostility or a solicitation to join in hostility against some other power. Those strings or belts of wampum are accompanied by speeches to be repeated verbatim or presenting them to the person or persons to whom they are sent, should the terms offered or the purport of the message be acceded to the parties accepting the wampum smoke of the tobacco thus tied to it and return their answer in a similar way. A belt of wampum sent to a neighboring nation for assistance in war, is made of blue wampum, at one end is wrought in with white grains the figure of a tomyhawk, presented towards a dimond of white grains also both painted red with vermillion. Should the nation accept the message, they work their dimond of white grains of wampum in the same way.

### *Language*

The Sauk and Fox languages are guttural and nasal the following letters are made use in their language as well as other sounds that cannot be represented by any letters in an alphabet—A, B, C, H, I, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, S, T, U, W, Y, Z, are letters of our alp[h]abet that are sounded in their language: the accent is generally placed on the second syllable and often on the first. They place a very strong emp[h]asis on the superlative degree of their ajectives also their adverbs of quality and interjections. They designate the genders thus—

#### MASCULINE

Man, Ninny  
Men, Ninnywuck  
Buck, Iawpe  
Deer [plural?], Pay-shakes-see

#### FEMININE

Woman, Hequa  
Women, Hequa-wuck  
Doe, A-co

The genders of all other animals are formed by placing the word [for] male or female before them. The plurals of substantives are formed by the termination of *uck* or *wuck*

SINGULAR	PLURAL
Child, A-pen-no	Children, A-pen-no-wuck
Chief, O-ke-maw	Chiefs, O-ke-maw-wuck
Indian, Me-thu-say-nin-ny	Indians, Me-thu-say-nin-ny-wuck

also the termination of *y* or *wy* to the name of an animal is the proper name of its Skin.

SINGULAR	PLURAL
Buckskin, I-aw-pe-wy	Buckskins, I-aw-pe-wy-uck
Muskrat [skin], Shusk-wy	Muskratskins, Shusk-wy-uck

### [Vocabulary]

American, <sup>95</sup> Muc-a-mon	Englishman, Sog-o-nosh
French, Mith-o-cosh	Blanket, Mi-co-say

<sup>95</sup> Derivation of the Indian names for American, English and French people — It is very well known, that the first white people the Indians saw in North America, were the French, who landed in Canada at an early day. The Indians say, that the French wore long beards in those days, from which circumstance, the Indians called them Wa-bay-mish-e-tome, i.e., white people with beards, and Wem-ty-goush is an abbreviation of the former Indian words of Wa-bay-mish-e-tome.

Sog-o-nosh, appears to be derived from the gallic word Sasenaugh, which as I am well informed, means Saxon. The manner in which the Indians became acquainted with this word is as follows. At an early period, perhaps, in the latter part of the seventeenth, or the beginning of the eighteenth century, the British were about to make an attack on Quebec; some Scotchmen who were officers in the French army, at that place, told the Indians to be strong, and they, combined with the French, would kill all those bad Sasenaghs (meaning the British Army) who dared come against them. The Indians took the word, and pronounced it as now spoken, Sog-o-nosh. Both words as Wem-ty-goush and Sog-o-nosh originated with the lake Indians.

Kit-chi-mo-co-maun or Big Knife is of a more recent origin, than the two former names. In some one of the many battles between the settlers of the then province (now State) of Virginia, the Indians were attacked by a party of white men on horseback, with long knives (swords), and were ever after called Big Knives by the Indians in that quarter, which name reached the more northern Indians, and the name of Big Knife has ever since been given by the Indians to every American. The Indians in Lower Canada used to call the New England people Pos-to-ney which I presume was borrowed from the French Bostoné, but at the present day and for many years back, all Indians

Powder (gun), Muck-i-tha	Sun, Keeshis
Flint, Sog-o-cawn	Otter, Cuth-eth-tha
Whiskey or rum, Scho-ta-wa-bo	Beaver, Amic-qua
Cow, Na-no-ee	Elk, Mesh-shay-way
Cat, Caw-shu	Bear, Muc-qua
Cat (wild), Pis-shew	Wild goose, Alick-qua
Fowls, Puck-a-ha-qua	Duck, She-sheeb
Looking glafs, Wa-ba-moan	Eagle, Mick-is-seou
Silver, Shoo-ne-aw	Owl, We-thuc-co
Knife, Mau-thifs	Swan, A-ha-wa
Dog, A-lem-mo	Pidgeon, Mee-mee
Saddle, Tho-me-a-cul	Eye, Os-keesh-oc-qua
Bridle, So-ke-the-na-pe-chu-cun	Hand, Neek
Canoe, It-che-maun	Mouth, Thole
Paddle, Up-we	Nose, co-mouth
Water, Neppe	Teeth, Wee-pee-thul

call all Americans, Kit-chi-mo-co-maun, i.e., Big Knives. — T. FORSYTH (among memoranda following his memoir).

Many curious names were given by the aboriginal peoples to the white men, "appellations referring to their personal appearance, arrival in ships, arms, dress, and other accouterments, activities, merchandise and articles brought with them, as iron, and fancied correspondence to figures of aboriginal myth and legend." In some cases the term for men of one nation was afterward extended to include all white men whom they met. Thus, "the Chippewa term for 'Englishman,' *shāganāsh* (which probably is connected with 'spearman,' or the 'contemptible spearman.' — WM. JONES, 1906) has been extended to mean 'white man.'" The Americans (i.e., the inhabitants of the English colonies which are now part of the United States) were called, in and after the Revolutionary period, various names by the Indians to distinguish them from the British and French. "Probably from the swords of the soldiery several tribes designated the Americans as 'big knives,' or 'long knives.' This is the signification of the Chippewa and Nipissing *chīmo'koman*. . . The prominence of Boston in the early history of the United States led to its name being used for 'American' on both the Atlantic and the Pacific coast. Another Algonquian term for Frenchman is the Cree *wemistikojīw*, Chippewa *wemīīgoshī*, probably akin to the Fox *wāmē'tēgowīšīta*, one who is identified with something wooden, probably referring to something about clothing and implements. The Fox name for a Frenchman is *wāmē'tēgoshīa* (WM. JONES, 1906); Menominee, *wameqtikosiu*; Missisauga, *wamīīgushi*, etc. The etymology of this name is uncertain." — A. F. CHAMBERLAIN, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*, art. "Race names."

In a letter to the editor, Dr. F. W. Hodge says: "Forsyth's *Wem-ty-goush* is from the Chippewa *wemīīgoshī*, meaning 'people of the wooden canoes.'" — ED.

Legs, Cau-then	Devil, Mache-man-nit-too
Arms, Nitch	Fire, Scho-tha
Head, Weesh	Boy, Qui-es-ea
Foot, Couth	Girl, Squa-cy
Hair (of the head), We-ne-sis	Tobacco, Say-maw
Hair (of animals), We-se-an	Sail, Caw-tha-sum
Corn, Thaw-meen	Thought, Es-she-thai
Tree, Ma-thic-quai	Courage, A-e-quame
Moon, Kee-shis	Hatred, Es-kin-a-wa
Stars, A-law-queek	Fear, Co-suc-kea
Day, Keesh-o-co	Love, Tip-pawn-nan
Night, Tip-pic-quoc	Eternity, Caw-keek
Father, Oce	Happiness, Men-we-pem-au-this-see
Mother, Kea	Strength, We-shic-is-see
Sister, Ni-thuc-quame	Beauty, Wa-wan-is-see
Brother (elder), Si-say	Insanity, Waw-wen-au-this-se-ow
Brother (younger), Se-ma	Revenge, Ash-e-tho-a-caw-no
Sister (elder), Ne-mis-sa	Cowardice, Keesh-kee-tha-hum
Sister (younger), Chu-me-is-sum	Hunger, Wee-shaw-pel
Son, Quis	Round, Wa-we-i-au
Daughter, Thaunis	White, Wa-bes-kiou
Grandfather, Mish-o-mifs	Black, Muck-et-tha-wa
Grandmother, Co-mifs	Yellow, As-saow
Friend, Cawn	Green, Ski-buc-ki-a
Yesterday, O-naw-co	Red, Mus-quaou
To-day, He-noke	Blue, We-pec-qua
Tomorrow, wa-buck	Song, Nuc-a-moan
Warriour, Wa-taw-say	Feast, Kay-kay-noo
Spring, Man-no-cum-me	Salt, See-wee-thaw-gun
Rock, As-sen	Sugar, Sis-sa-bac-quat
Sand, Na-kow	White Oak, Mec-she-mish
Wood, Ma-thi-a-cole	Red Oak, Ma-thic-wa-mish
Mississippi, Mes-is-se-po	Cedar, Mus-qua-aw-quck
Wind, No-then	Pine, Shin-qua-quck
Snow, Ac-coen	Cottonwood, Me-thew-wuck
Rain, Kee-me-a	Sycamore, Keesh-a-wock-quai
Thunder, An-a-mee-kee	Grafs, Mus-kis-kee
Dance, Ne-mee	Hill, Mes-is-sauk
Path, Me-ow	Island, Men-nefs
God, Man-nit-too	

River, Seepo	Poor, Kitch-a-moc-is-see
Flat, Puc-puc-kis-kia	Good, Wa-wun-nitt
Alive, Pematifs	Better, Na-kai-may-wa-won-nitt
Dead, Nippo	Best, One-wak-men-we-wa-won-nitt
Sick, Oc-co-muth	Bad, Me-aw-nith
Well, Nes-say	Worse, A-ne-kai-may-me-aw-nith
Tired, je-qua	Worst, A-me-kaw-she-me-aw-nith <sup>96</sup>
Lazy, Naw-nee-kee-tho	
Early, Maw-my	
Late, A-maw-quas	
Handsome, Waw-won-nifs-see	Boat, Mis-se-gock-it-che-man
Ugly, Me-aw-nifs-see	Flute, Paw-pe-guen
Rich, O-thai-wifs-see	Boards, Mifs-see-gock

## PERSONAL PRONOUNS

*Singular*

I, Neen  
 Thou or you, Keene  
 He, she, or it, Weene

*Plural*

We, Neenwaw  
 Ye, Keenwaw  
 They, Weenwaw

*Possession**Singular*

Mine or my, Nichi Enim<sup>97</sup>  
 Thy or thine, Kiche Enim  
 His or hers, O-thi-Enim

*Plural*

Ours, Neen-ane-i-thi-enim  
 Yours, Keen-ane-othi-enim  
 Theirs, Ween-waw-othi-enim

## CONJUGATION VERB TO LOVE

*Singular*

I love, ne-neen-wen-a-maw  
 Thou lovest, Ke-men-wen-a-maw-kia  
 He loved, O-men-wen-a-maw-kia

*Plural*

We love, Neen-wa-ke-men-a-kia  
 Ye or you love, Keen-wa, etc.  
 They love, Ween-wa, etc.  
 Loved, Men-a-wa-kia-pie

Loving, Men-wen-a-meen

## [NUMBERS]

One, Necouth  
 Two, Neesh  
 Three, Nefs

Four, Ne-a-we  
 Five, Nee-aw-neen  
 Six, Ne-coth-wa-sick

<sup>96</sup> These comparisons of "bad," as also the specimens of plural formation for substantives (page 240) have been transposed to their present and logical position because in the Ms. they were evidently misplaced by some forgetfulness or oversight of Forsyth's. — ED.

<sup>97</sup> The termination *enim* has reference to things. — T. FORSYTH (in marginal note.)

Seven, No-wuck	12, Mittausway Neshway nifsee
Eight, Nip-wash-ick	13, Mittausway Nefs-way Nifsee
Nine, Shauck	20, Neesh Wap-pe-tuck
Ten, Mit-taus	30, Nefs Wap-pe-tuck
11, Mittausway Necouth a nifsee	100, Necouth-wock-qu
1,000, Mittaus wock-qu or necouth kichi wock	
10,000, Mit-taus Kichi wock or ten great hundreds	

The Sauk and Fox and I believe all other Indians count decimally.

## PREPOSITIONS

Come with me	Ke-we-thay-me
Go to him	E-na-ke-haw-loo
I will fight for you	Ke-me-caw-thu-it-thum-one
Come in with me	Pen-the-kay-thaun
Let us wade thro the water	Pee-than-see-e-thawn

## ADVERBS

He shoots badly	Me-awn-os-show-whai
He eats much	Kichu-o-we-sen-ne
The River rises rapidly	Kichu-mos-on-hum-o-see-po
Come here	Pe-a-loo
Go there	E-tip-pe-haw-loo
Behave well	Muc-quache-how-e-wa
Not you but me	A-qu
Neither you nor I	A-qu-neco

The above is submitted to your better Judgment of Indian Manners and Customs by your obedient servant

THOMAS FORSYTH.<sup>98</sup>

St. Louis, 15th January, 1827

[Addressed:] GENERAL WILLIAM CLARK,<sup>99</sup> Sup<sup>td</sup> of In. affs, St. Louis.

<sup>98</sup> Thomas Forsyth was of Scotch-Irish origin, his father, William Forsyth, coming to America in 1750, and entering military service here; after the French and Indian War he was stationed at Detroit, where Thomas was born, Dec. 5, 1771. When but a youth, Thomas entered the Indian trade; he spent several winters at Saginaw Bay, and as early as 1798 spent a winter on an island in the Mississippi River, near Quincy, Ill. About 1802 he, with Robert Forsyth and John Kinzie, established a trading-post at Chicago, and later settled as a trader at Peoria. April 1, 1812, he was appointed a sub-agent of Indian affairs (with a salary of \$600 a year, and three rations a day), under Gen. William

Clark, and for many years (until a short time before the Black Hawk War) was agent at first for the Illinois district, and then among the Sauk and Fox tribes. He died at St. Louis, Oct. 29, 1833, leaving four children. Forsyth's letter-books, covering the period from 1812 to his death, with many letters received by him from prominent men of his time, copies of his official accounts rendered to the government, and several memoirs on the Indians—forming a collection of original documents of great value and interest for western and Indian history of that period—are in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society. Forsyth was a man of great ability, and was generally considered one of the most competent among the early Indian agents; he had much influence with the Indians, and did much to retain them on the side of the Americans in the war of 1812-1815. See biographical and other information regarding him in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. vi, 188, and vol. xi, 316.—ED.

<sup>99</sup> General Clark was heard to say that this account of the manners and customs of the Sauk and Fox Indians was "tolerable." It was so tolerable that he nor any of his satellites could equal it, and I should be glad to see some of their productions on this head.—T. FORSYTH (marginal note).



## APPENDICES

- A. Biographical sketch of Nicolas Perrot; condensed from the notes of Father Tailhan.
- B. Notes on Indian social organization, mental and moral traits, and religious beliefs; and accounts of three remarkably religious movements among Indians in modern times. Mainly from writings of prominent ethnologists; the remainder by Thomas Forsyth and Thomas R. Roddy.
- C. Various letters, etc., describing the character and present condition of the Sioux, Potawatomi, and Winnebago tribes; written for this work by missionaries and others who know these peoples well.



## APPENDIX A

[The following sketch of Perrot's life is condensed from Tailhan's notes on the explorer's narrative, pages 257-279, 301-308 (see present work, volume i, note 171), and 319-336, of the original publication. This account is given as far as possible in Tailhan's own language, and includes all his statements of facts; but his long citations from La Potherie and others are omitted, as also various unimportant comments and details.]

"We would know [from his memoirs] absolutely nothing about the family of our author, the year and the place of his birth, his youth, and his first expeditions among the savages of the west, if Charlevoix and La Potherie had not, at least in part, made amends for his silence. In this note I have brought together the somewhat scanty records for which we are indebted to them, and of which they too often leave us in ignorance of the exact date. Nicolas Perrot, born in 1644, came (I know not in what year) to New France. He belonged to a respectable but not wealthy family; accordingly, after he had obtained some smattering of knowledge he found that he must break off his studies, in order to enter the service of the missionaries. The Jesuits, at that time dispersed afar among the savage peoples whom war and famine vied in destroying, had soon realized that they could not without rashness place themselves, as regards their subsistence, at the mercy of the poor Indians in the midst of whom they were living. It was therefore necessary for them, as well as for their neophytes, to seek their daily food from hunting, fishing, and agriculture. These toils, to which their earlier education had left them strangers, were besides incompatible with the functions of their ministry. The few European coadjutor brethren who were included in their number being almost as unskilled in these pursuits as were the missionaries themselves, the latter took as associates some young men of the country, who, either gratuitously or for a salary, consented to share their dangers, fatigues, and privations, and made provision for their needs. Fathers Mesnard (*Relation* of 1663, chap. viii), Allouez (*id.* of 1667, chap. xvi), Marquette (*Récit*, chap. i), and

many others before or after them, had for companions of their apostolic journeys a certain number of these *donnés* or *engagés*. It is among these latter that Perrot was enrolled, which gave him the opportunity to visit most of the indigenous tribes and to learn their languages (Charlevoix, *Histoire*, vol. i, 437). What was the exact duration of this sort of apprenticeship? I do not know, but it could not have lasted very long. We know, indeed, through La Potherie (*Histoire*, vol. ii, 88, 89) that Perrot was the first to visit the Poutéouatamis, in order to trade with them in 'iron' – that is, in arms and munitions of war. At that time, therefore, he had already quitted the service of the missionaries. But this voyage could not have been made later than 1665; since, on the one hand, Perrot went from the Poutéouatamis and arrived among the Outagamis in the very year following the settlement of this latter tribe in the neighborhood of the Sakis and the Bay (La Potherie, *Histoire*, vol. ii, 99), and, on the other, this migration of the Outagamis was accomplished by the year 1665 (*Relation* of 1667, chap. x). We are then necessarily led to assign to Perrot's engagement a length of only four or five years at most (from 1660 to 1664 or 1665); for we can hardly suppose that Perrot became companion to the missionaries before his sixteenth year." The statement that he was the first Frenchman to visit the Poutéouatamis (who had been settled at the entrance to Green Bay since 1638) seems to conflict with the other one (*Relation* of 1660, chap. iii) that they had been visited by two Frenchmen in 1654; but La Potherie may refer to only one of the villages of that tribe, the one farthest up the bay. But, however that may be, "it is certain that before 1670 Perrot made several journeys among the various tribes of the Bay of Puans and of Wisconsin. . . . Perrot was not a common trader, occupied solely with his own interests and those of his employers. From the beginning of his career he realized how important it was to the Colony and to France to see all the peoples of the west united together against their common enemy, the Iroquois. Accordingly, having learned on his arrival among the Poutéouatamis that hostilities had already broken out between those Indians and their neighbors the Maloumines or wild-rice people, from whom his hosts feared an attack – all the more to be dreaded just then because all their warriors were at Montréal trading – he offered to go in person to negotiate peace with their enemies. This proposition was welcomed with gratitude by the old men of the tribe, and Perrot immediately set out to execute his mission." (See La Potherie's *His-*

toire, vol. ii, 90-98, for account of this embassy and its success, and Perrot's welcome by the grateful Poutéouatamis.) "These attentions, these marks of honor, and these enthusiastic demonstrations were not as disinterested as might be supposed. Perrot somewhere observes that in their traffic with Europeans the savages are such only in name, and can employ more skilfully than they the means most certain for securing their own ends. The object which in this case they proposed to attain was to gain the confidence of Perrot and the merchants of the colony, to bring the French among themselves to the exclusion of other peoples, and thus to become the necessary middlemen for the commerce of New France with all the Indians of the west. It was with this purpose that they sought to prevent, as far as possible, the establishment of direct relations between Perrot and the more remote tribes, by hastening to send deputies to those tribes, commissioned to inform them of the alliance of the Poutéouatamis with the French, the voyage of the former to Montreal, and their return with a great quantity of merchandise—for which they invited those distant peoples to come and exchange their furs. But if they had an object Perrot had also his own, from which he did not allow himself to turn aside. His patriotism and his adventurous spirit urged him on to visit for himself the various tribes of the Bay and of adjoining regions; and in dealing with them personally he endeavored to attach them to himself and to France, and he accomplished this in the course of the following years.

"The Outagamis or Renards, driven from their ancient abodes by fear of the Iroquois, had taken refuge at a place called Ouestatinong, twenty-five or thirty leagues from the Bay of Puans, toward the southwest (*Relation* of 1670, chap. xii). The exact time of this migration is not known to us. What is certain is, that (1) it took place after 1658, since the Outagamis do not figure in the enumeration of the peoples of the Bay and of Méchingan given in the *Relation* of that year (chap. v); and (2) that it was already made at the end of 1665 (cf. *supra*). This tribe, of Algonquin race, were relatives and allies of the Sakis, whose language they spoke (*Relation* of 1667, chap. x; *id.* of 1670, chap. xii; Perrot, 154). This is why they sent, in the spring of the year which followed their new settlement, deputies commissioned to announce to the latter tribe their arrival. The Sakis, in their turn, resolved to despatch some chiefs as ambassadors to congratulate the Outagamis on their coming to that region, and to entreat them not to move any farther. Perrot did not let slip this

opportunity to visit a tribe which until then had had no intercourse with the French (La Potherie, *Histoire*, vol. ii, 99, 173). It will be easy for us to follow him, thanks to Fathers Allouez and Dablon, who soon afterward made the same voyage, and have given us a curious and circumstantial narrative of their itinerary (*Relation* of 1670, chap. xii; *id.* of 1671, 3rd part, chap. v).” This voyage was up the Fox River to Lake Winnebago, thence up the upper Fox and the Wolf Rivers to the Outagami village. Perrot also made a journey to the Maskoutens and Miamis, who had fled for refuge to the upper Fox River, above the Wolf. “It is to be believed that, in the course of these few years, Perrot made still other voyages; but the two which I have just narrated are the only ones on which the old historians of Canada have furnished me any information. I will content myself, therefore, with adding to what has gone before the fact that when Perrot returned to the colony with the Ottawa fleet [1670], he had already visited the greater number of the savage tribes of the west; and that he had gained their confidence so far that he persuaded them to do whatever he wished (Charlevoix, *Histoire*, vol. i, 436). The Algonquins loved and esteemed him (Perrot, 119); and the various tribes of the bay honored him as their father (La Potherie, *Histoire*, vol. ii, 173, 175). In a word, he was the man best prepared in all New France for discharging the mission which Monsieur de Courcelles was soon to entrust to him (Charlevoix, *ut supra*).”

“After this very inglorious campaign [1684] Perrot actually returned to the Puante River, in the seigniory of Becancourt, where from 1681 (as the census of that year shows us) he had possessed a dwelling and a land-grant of eighteen arpents. At that same time Perrot had been married about ten years, since the eldest of his six children was then fully nine years old. Although Perrot had inherited, in right of his wife, Madeleine Raclos, a considerable amount of property, his affairs were none the less much embarrassed in the present year 1684. We allow him to explain the matter himself, in a letter to Monsieur de Saint Martin, one of his creditors, and notary-royal at Cap de la Madeleine:

From the Puante River, this twentieth of August, 1684.

MONSIEUR: I have received your letter, by which I see that you demand what is quite just. I would not have delayed so long to visit you and all those to whom I am indebted, if I had brought in the peltries which I left behind on account of the orders given me to come to the war . . . if I had those in my possession, I would be bolder than I

am to go to find my creditors; but as I brought back nothing, even to pay for the merchandise [that I carried out], for fear of being punished for disobedience, I am ashamed. That will not prevent me from going down to Quebec to procure merchandise; if I bring back goods that suit you, you will dispose of them; if not, I will try to satisfy your claim in some other way, if I can. I am not the only one who has come down without bringing back anything. I expected to go to the Cap [de la Madeleine], in order to give you proof of what I am writing to you; but Monsieur de Villiers is sending me with some letters to Quebecq, which obliges me to give up going to see you until after my return. Believe me, I intend to give you satisfaction, or I could not do so. Your very humble servant,

N. PERROT.

In the course of the following years, the condition of affairs caused only more troubles for Perrot and for many others. The Iroquois closed all the passages, and no longer permitted the fleets of the Ottawas and the Canadian voyageurs to come down to the colony with their peltries, from which sprang universal poverty and misery. Monsieur de Champigny, intendant of New France, wrote in his despatch of August 9, 1688 (in the archives of the Marine): 'The merchants are still in a most deplorable condition; all their wealth has been in the woods for the last three or four years. It is impossible for them to avoid being considerably indebted in France; and, in a word, when the fur-trade fails for one year, very fortunate is he who has bread.' While awaiting a favorable opportunity for transporting to Montreal the produce of his trading, Perrot had deposited it in the buildings of St. François Xavier mission, at the Bay of Puans; but while he followed the Marquis de Denonville in his expedition against the Tsonnontouan Iroquois, a fire consumed the church, the adjoining buildings, and the 40,000 livres' worth of peltries which Perrot had left there (*La Potherie, Histoire*, vol. ii, 209)." [For Perrot's activities in 1685-1686, see volume i, note 171. — ED.]

On returning to the colony, Perrot endeavored to retrieve his ruinous losses of property by a new trading voyage to the west; and he obtained from Denonville the same office, with nearly the same authority, as that which La Barre had conferred on him. Probably in the autumn of 1687, he went to Green Bay, and thence to the upper Mississippi, to the fort which he had built there a few years before. While there, he traded with the Dakotas, and persuaded them to permit his taking possession of that region for France (1689). He returned to Montreal, on the way stopping at Michillimakinak and procuring the release of some Iroquois prisoners whom the Ottawas were about to burn at the stake; and the latter sent with him one of

their chiefs to deliver the rescued captives to the governor. But soon after their arrival at Montreal an Iroquois army surprised (Aug. 25, 1689) the village of Lachine, massacred or captured its inhabitants, and ravaged Montreal Island. The French and the friendly Indians were overcome with fear, and the savages of the upper country were filled with contempt for the French, and the desire to protect themselves from danger by concluding a peace with the Iroquois and the English; knowing that this would be ruinous to the French colony, La Durantaye and the Jesuit missionaries at Michillimakinak labored to retain the Indians in the French alliance. Fortunately at this crisis, Count de Frontenac arrived at Quebec (Oct. 12, 1689), and immediately formed a plan to draw all the Algonquian tribes into an offensive alliance with the French against the Iroquois; to gain over to this the tribes of the northwest, he sent Perrot (May 22, 1690) with presents as his envoy to them – an undertaking in which the latter was successful. Frontenac sent armies against the Iroquois, into their own country, and thus broke up their previous mastery of the St. Lawrence route; so that in 1693 a fleet of two hundred Ottawa canoes brought down to Montreal 800,000 livres worth of peltries. In 1692, Perrot received orders to go to reside among the Miamis of the Marameg River, at the same time, however, apparently retaining his authority over the tribes about Green Bay; he was sent thither “on account of its being important to maintain that post against the new expeditions which the Iroquois might make in that quarter” (Letter of Callières, Oct. 27, 1695). Indeed, in that very year a band of Iroquois had endeavored to surprise the Miamis there; but the latter, with the aid of the French at the post (under command of Courtemanche) had repulsed the enemy. In the summer of the same year Perrot had gone to Montreal with chiefs of the various tribes under his control, who were received in audience by Frontenac. The governor urged the Miamis of the Marameg to unite with their tribesmen on the St. Joseph; under the influence of Frontenac and Perrot they seem to have consented, although somewhat reluctantly, to this removal. During the next few years Perrot had much to do with the western tribes, and encountered many adventures and even dangers. “The principal occupation of our author was, as before, to maintain harmony and peace among those tribes, always ready to tear one another in pieces, and to urge them to wage war against the Iroquois. That was a work as thankless as difficult, because it was hardly accomplished when it became necessary to begin it again on some new ground, so inconstant

and fickle is the will of those peoples, whose 'wild young men, who are braves without discipline or any appearance of subordination, at the first glance or the first brandy debauch overthrow all the deliberations of the old men, who are no longer obeyed' (Letter of Denonville, May 8, 1686)." This fickleness was often displayed against even Perrot, whose property was seized by them, and who even was in danger of being burned at the stake by the Maskoutens (about 1693) and again by the Miamis (in 1696). In the latter case, chiefs from the other tribes offered their services to Frontenac to avenge the injuries of Perrot; but he knew their hatred to the Miamis, and discreetly declined this proposal. The governor was a firm friend of Perrot, and if he had lived would doubtless have enabled him to recoup his losses; but the death of Frontenac (November 28, 1698) deprived Perrot of a protector, and about the same time the court of France abolished the trading permits and ordered that the posts at Michillimakinak and St. Joseph be abandoned, and all the French soldiers and traders recalled to the colony (Letter of Champigny, Oct. 15, 1698; in archives of the Marine). As a result, Perrot was "completely ruined, and harassed by numerous creditors;" and his appeals to both the colonial and the royal governments were rejected — although Callières suggested that the latter grant a small pension to relieve the poverty of the unfortunate explorer, a request which seems to have been entirely ignored. But the same neglect was experienced by other faithful servants of the French cause — for instance, La Durantaye and Jolliet, who were reduced to the same extremity (see Raudot's "List of those interested in the Company of Canada," 1708; in archives of the Marine).

In the summer of 1701 Perrot was called to act as interpreter at a general conference of the Indian tribes that was held there. On this occasion those of the west who had been under his command entreated the governor to send him back to them, and displayed the utmost esteem and affection for him; this request was made by the Potawatomi chief, Ounanguissé, the Outagami chief, Noro, and the orator of the Ottawas and their allies, but was met only by vague promises, which were never fulfilled. See La Potherie, *Histoire*, vol. iv, 212-214, 257. The Marquis de Vaudreuil, who succeeded Callières as governor, was fortunately always a warm friend of Perrot and his family, and seems to have conferred on the former a command in the militia of the seigniories on the St. Lawrence, which carried with it a small salary and comparatively light duties. The leisure thus obtained by Perrot

was spent largely in writing his various memoirs. He was still living in 1718, as is evident from his allusion at the end of chap. xxvii to Louvigny's expeditions (1716, 1717) to punish and afterward pacify the Outagamis. Further information regarding Perrot's later years is not available. "In his humble sphere, he always proved himself brave, loyal, and devoted; and as a writer he was, although without doubt unpolished and unskilful, yet honest—one who has in his memoirs known how to speak of himself without boasting, and of others without fawning, without jealousy, and without vilification." "The memoir that we have just published is the only one of all Perrot's writings which has reached us." From allusions therein, it is evident that he also wrote (1) a memoir on the Outagamis, addressed to Vaudreuil; and (2) several memoirs on the wars between the Iroquois and the western tribes, and on the various acts of treachery committed by the Indians, especially by the Hurons and Ottawas.

—TAILHAN.

An interesting and well-written sketch of Perrot's life forms no. 1 of the Parkman Club *Papers* (Milwaukee, 1896); it was prepared by Gardner P. Stickney. He has based it mainly on Tailhan's notes, but has collected other mention and minor details from Charlevoix, Parkman, Neill, and other writers. — ED.

## APPENDIX B

[Here is presented information on various topics regarding Indian society, character, and religious beliefs, which seems more appropriately grouped here than scattered through the work, especially as some of the subjects are inconveniently long or general for footnotes. These articles are chiefly taken from the *Handbook of Amer. Indians*, vol. ii; the exceptions are obtained, as indicated, from excellent authorities. As will be noted, they are arranged in logical sequence, as far as possible. — ED.]

### *Social Organization*

"North American tribes contained (1) subdivisions of a geographic or consanguineal character; (2) social and governmental classes or bodies, especially chiefs and councils, with particular powers and privileges; and (3) fraternities of a religious or semi-religious character, the last of which are especially treated under article 'Secret Societies.' Tribes may be divided broadly into those in which the organization was loose, the subdivisions being families or bands and descent being counted prevailingly from father to son; and those which were divided into clearly defined groups called gentes or clans, which were strictly exogamic and more often reckoned descent through the mother. Among the former may be placed the Eskimo," the Cree, Montagnais, and Cheyenne, of Algonquian tribes, the Kiowa, etc.; in the latter divisions are the Pueblos, Navaho, and the majority of tribes in the Atlantic and Gulf States, and some others. "Where clans exist the distinctive character of each is very strongly defined and a man can become a member only by birth, adoption, or transfer in infancy from his mother's to his father's clan, or vice versa. Each clan generally possessed some distinctive totem from which the majority of the persons belonging to it derived their names, certain rights, carvings, and ceremonies in common, and often the exclusive right to a tract of land. Although the well-defined caste system of the north Pacific coast, based on property and the institution of slavery, does not seem to have had a parallel elsewhere north of Mexico except perhaps among the

Natchez, bravery in war, wisdom in council, oratorical, poetical, or artistic talents, real or supposed psychic powers – in short, any variety of excellence whatever served in all Indian tribes to give one prominence among his fellows, and it is not strange that popular recognition of a man's ability sometimes reacted to the benefit of his descendants. Although it was always a position of great consequence, leadership in war was generally separate from and secondary to the civil chieftainship. Civil leadership and religious primacy were much more commonly combined. Among the Pueblos all three are united, forming a theocracy. Councils of a democratic, unconventional kind, in which wealthy persons or those of most use to the tribe had the greatest influence, were universal where no special form of council was established. . . . The tribes possessing a well-defined clan system are divided into three groups – the north Pacific, southwestern, and eastern. . . . Among the Plains Indians the Omaha had a highly organized social system. The tribe was divided into ten gentes called 'villages,' with descent through the father, each of which had one chief. Seven of these chiefs constituted a sort of oligarchy, and two of them, representing the greatest amount of wealth, exercised superior authority. The functions of these chiefs were entirely civil; they never headed war parties. Below them were two orders of warriors, from the higher of which men were selected to act as policemen during the buffalo hunt. Under all were those who had not yet attained to eminence. During the buffalo hunts and great ceremonials the tribe encamped in a regular circle with one opening, like most other plains tribes. In it each gens and even each family had its definite position. The two halves of this circle, composed of five clans each, had different names, but they do not appear to have corresponded to the phratries of more eastern Indians. A man was not permitted to marry into the gens of his father, and marriage into that of his mother was rare and strongly disapproved. Other plains tribes of the Siouan family probably were organized in much the same manner and reckoned descent similarly. The Dakota are traditionally reputed to have been divided into seven council fires, each of which was at one time divided into two or three major and a multitude of minor bands. Whatever their original condition may have been their organization is now much looser than that of the Omaha. . . . The social organization of the western and northern Algonquian tribes is not well known. The Siksika [more commonly known as Blackfeet] have numerous subdivisions which have been called gentes; they are characterized by

descent through the father, but would appear to be more truly local groups. Each had originally its own chief, and the council composed of these chiefs selected the chief of the tribe, their choice being governed rather by the character of the person than by his descent. The head chief's authority was made effective largely through the voluntary coöperation of several societies. The Chippewa, Potawatomi, Menominee, Miami, Shawnee, and Abnaki in historic times have had gentes, with paternal descent, which Morgan believed had developed from a material stage; but this view must be taken with caution, inasmuch as there never has been a question as to the form of descent among the Delawares, who were subjected to white influences at an earlier date than most of those supposed to have changed. . . . The most advanced social organization north of the Pueblo country was probably that developed by the Iroquois confederated tribes. Each tribe consisted of two or more phratries, which in turn embraced one or more clans, named after various animals or objects, while each clan consisted of one or more kinship groups called *ohwachira*. When the tribes combined to form the confederacy called the Five Nations they were arranged in three phratries, of two, two, and one tribes respectively. There were originally forty-eight hereditary chieftainships in the five tribes, and subsequently the number was raised to fifty. Each chieftainship was held by some one *ohwachira*, and the selection of a person to fill it devolved on the child-bearing women of the clan to which it belonged, more particularly those of the *ohwachira* which owned it. The selection had to be confirmed afterward by the tribal and league councils successively. Along with each chief a vice-chief was elected, who sat in the tribal council with the chief proper, and also acted for a leader in time of war, but the chief only sat in the grand council of the confederacy."—J. R. SWANTON, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

### Totems

"Totem" is a corruption by travelers and traders of the Chippewa *nind otem* or *kitotem*, meaning "my own family," "thy own family"—thence, by extension, "tribe," or "race." "The totem represented an emblem that was sacred in character and referred to one of the elements, a heavenly body, or some natural form. If an element, the device was symbolic; if an object, it might be represented realistically or by its known sign or symbol. An animal represented by the 'totem' was always generic; if a bear or an eagle, no particular bear or eagle was meant. The clan frequently took its name from the 'totem' and

its members might be spoken of as Bear people, Eagle people, etc. Variants of the word 'totem' were used by tribes speaking languages belonging to the Algonquian stock, but to all other tribes the word was foreign and unknown." The use of this term is too often indiscriminate and incorrect, which has obscured its real meaning. "As the emblem of a family or clan, it had two aspects: (1) the religious, which concerned man's relations to the forces about him, and involved the origin of the emblem as well as the methods by which it was secured; and (2) the social, which pertained to man's relation to his fellow-men and the means by which an emblem became the hereditary mark of a family, a clan, or society. There were three classes of 'totems:' the individual, the society, and the clan 'totem.' Research indicates that the individual 'totem' was the fundamental." This personal "totem" was most often selected from the objects seen in dreams or visions, since there was a general belief that such an object became the medium of supernatural help in time of need, and for this purpose would furnish a man, in his dream, with a song or a peculiar call by which to summon it to his help. The religious societies were generally independent of the clan organization; but sometimes they were in close connection with the clan and the membership under its control. The influence of the "totem" idea was most developed in the clan, "where the emblem of the founder of a kinship group became the hereditary mark of the composite clan, with its fixed, obligatory duties on all members. . . The idea of supernatural power was attached to the clan 'totem.' This power, however, was not shown, as in the personal 'totem,' by according help to individuals, but was manifested in the punishment of forgetfulness of kinship. . . While homage was ceremonially rendered to the special power represented by the 'totem' of the clan or of the society, the 'totem' itself was not an object of worship. Nor was the object symbolized considered as the actual ancestor of the people; the members of the Bear clan did not believe they were descended from a bear, nor were they always prohibited from hunting the animal, although they might be forbidden to eat of its flesh or to touch certain parts of its body. The unification and strength of the clan and tribal structure depended largely on the restraining fear of supernatural punishment by the 'totemic' powers, a fear fostered by the vital belief in the potency of the personal 'totem.'"

— ALICE C. FLETCHER, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

*Mode of Life*

It is a popular fallacy that the Indians were generally nomadic, having no fixed place of abode; "the term nomadic is not, in fact, properly applicable to any Indian tribe." With some few exceptions, every tribe or group of tribes "laid claim to and dwelt within the limits of a certain tract or region, the boundaries of which were well understood, and were handed down by tradition and not ordinarily relinquished save to a superior force." There were some debatable areas, owned by none but claimed by all, over which many disputes and intertribal wars arose. "Most or all of the tribes east of the Mississippi except in the north, and some west of it, were to a greater or less extent agricultural and depended much for food on the products of their tillage. During the hunting season such tribes or villages broke up into small parties and dispersed over their domains more or less widely in search of game; or they visited the seashore for fish and shellfish. Only in this restricted sense may they be said to be nomadic." Even the plains Indians, who wandered far in hunting the buffalo, had a certain hold on their tribal territories and recognized the rights of their neighbors. The natives of the far north, owing to environment and geographical conditions, most nearly approached the nomadic life. — HENRY W. HENSHAW, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*, art. "Popular fallacies."

"Each North American tribe claimed a certain locality as its habitat, and dwelt in communities or villages about which stretched its hunting grounds. As all the inland people depended for food largely on the gathering of acorns, seeds, and roots, the catching of salmon when ascending the streams, or on hunting for meat and skin clothing, they camped in makeshift shelters or portable dwellings during a considerable part of the year. These dwellings were brush shelters, the mat house and birch-bark lodge of the forest tribes, and the skin tent of the plains. . . . Hunting, visiting, or war parties were more or less organized. The leader was generally the head of a family or of a kindred group, or he was appointed to his office with certain ceremonies. He decided the length of a day's journey, and where the camp should be made at night. As all property, save a man's personal clothing, weapons, and riding horses, belonged to the woman, its care during a journey fell upon her. . . . When a camping place was reached the mat houses were erected as was most convenient for the family group, but the skin tents were set up in a circle, near of kin being neighbors. If danger from enemies was apprehended, the ponies

and other valuable possessions were kept within the space inclosed by the circle of tents. Long journeys were frequently undertaken for friendly visits or for intertribal ceremonies. . . . When the tribes of the buffalo country went on their annual hunt, ceremonies attended every stage, from the initial rites (when the leader was chosen), throughout the journeyings, to the thanksgiving ceremony which closed the expedition. The long procession was escorted by warriors selected by the leader and the chiefs for their trustiness and valor. They acted as a police guard to prevent any straggling that might result in personal or tribal danger; and they prevented any private hunting, as it might stampede a herd that might be in the vicinity. When on the annual hunt the tribe camped in a circle and preserved its political divisions, and the circle was often a quarter of a mile or more in diameter. Sometimes the camp was in concentric circles, each circle representing a political group of kindred. . . . The tribal circle, each segment composed of a clan, gens, or band, made a living picture of tribal organization and responsibilities. It impressed upon the beholder the relative position of kinship groups and their interdependence, both for the maintenance of order and government within and for defense against enemies from without; while the opening to the east and the position of the ceremonial tents recalled the religious rites and obligations by which the many parts were held together in a compact whole."

— ALICE C. FLETCHER, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

### *Mental and Moral Traits*

"The mental functions of the Indian should be compared with those of whites reared and living under approximately similar circumstances. On closer observation the differences in the fundamental psychical manifestations between the two races are found to be small. No instincts not possessed by whites have developed in the Indian. His proficiency in tracking and concealment, his sense of direction, etc., are accounted for by his special training and practice, and are not found in the Indian youth who has not had such experience. The Indian lacks much of the ambition known to the white man, yet he shows more or less of the quality where his life affords a chance for it."

"The emotional life of the Indian is more moderate and ordinarily more free from extremes of nearly every nature, than that of the white person. The prevalent subjective state is that of content in well-being, with inclination to humor. Pleasurable emotions predominate, but seldom rise beyond the moderate; those of a painful nature are occasionally very pronounced. Maternal love is strong, especially during

the earlier years of the child. Sexual love is rather simply organic, not of so intellectual an order as among whites; but this seems to be largely the result of views and customs governing sex relations and marriage. The social instinct and that of self-preservation are much like those of white people. Emotions of anger and hatred are infrequent and of normal character. Fear is rather easily aroused at all ages, in groups of children occasionally reaching a panic; but this is likewise due in large measure to peculiar beliefs and untrammelled imagination."

"Modesty, morality, and the sense of right and justice are as natural to the Indian as to the white man, but, as in other respects, are modified in the former by prevalent views and conditions of life. Transgressions of every character are less frequent in the Indian. Memory (of sense impressions as well as of mental acts proper) is generally fair. Where the faculty has been much exercised in one direction, as in religion, it acquires remarkable capacity in that particular. The young exhibit good memory for languages. The faculty of will is strongly developed. Intellectual activities proper are comparable with those of ordinary healthy whites, though on the whole, and excepting the sports, the mental processes are probably habitually slightly slower. Among many tribes lack of thrift, improvidence, absence of demonstrative manifestations, and the previously mentioned lack of ambition are observable; but these peculiarities must be charged largely, if not entirely, to differences in mental training and habits. The reasoning of the Indian and his ideation, though modified by his views, have often been shown to be excellent. His power of imitation, and even of invention, is good, as is his aptitude in several higher arts and in oratory. An Indian child reared under the care of whites, educated in the schools of civilization, and without having acquired the notions of its people, is habitually much like a white child trained in a similar degree under similar conditions." — ALES HRDLICKA, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*, art. "Physiology."

"The idea of the Indian, once popular, suggests a taciturn and stolid character, who smoked his pipe in silence and stalked reserved and dignified among his fellows. Unquestionably the Indian of the Atlantic slope differed in many respects from his kinsmen farther west; it may be that the forest Indian of the north and east imbibed something of the spirit of the primeval woods which, deep and gloomy, overspread much of his region. If so, he has no counterpart in the regions west of the Mississippi. On occasions of ceremony and religion the western Indian can be both dignified and solemn, as befits

the occasion; but his nature, if not as bright and sunny as that of the Polynesian, is at least as far removed from moroseness as his disposition is from taciturnity. The Indian of the present day has at least a fair sense of humor and is by no means a stranger to jest, laughter, and even repartee." — HENRY W. HENSHAW, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*, art. "Popular fallacies."

"The specific question of psychological differences between Indians and other races is still an unsolved problem," on account of the lack of adequate data as a basis for conclusions. Some work has been done in the study and comparison of these differences, but the results are insufficient for definite general statements. Conflicting theories are in vogue among anthropologists — one that "the existence of cultural differences necessitates the existence of psychological differences;" another, that those "cultural differences are not due to psychological differences, but to causes entirely external, or outside of the conscious life," and "considers culture as the sum of habits into which the various groups of mankind have fallen." But thus far neither theory has been satisfactorily proved. "In conclusion, it appears that we have no satisfactory knowledge of the elemental psychological activities among Indians, because they have not been made the subjects of research by trained psychologists. On the other hand, it may be said that in all the larger aspects of mental life they are qualitatively similar to other races." — *Handbook Amer. Indians*, art. "Psychology."

### *Religious Beliefs*

"Religious views and actions are not primarily connected with ethical concepts. Only in so far as in his religious relations to the outer world man endeavors to follow certain rules of conduct, in order to avoid evil effects, is a relation between primitive religion and ethics established. The religious concepts of the Indians may be described in two groups — those that concern the individual, and those that concern the social group, such as tribe and clan. The fundamental concept bearing upon the religious life of the individual is the belief in the existence of magic power, which may influence the life of man, and which in turn may be influenced by human activity. In this sense magic power must be understood as the wonderful qualities which are believed to exist in objects, animals, men, spirits, or deities, and which are superior to the natural qualities of man. This idea of magic power is one of the fundamental concepts that occurs among all Indian tribes. It is what is called *manito* by the Algonquian tribes; *wakanda*, by the Siouan tribes; *orenda*, by the Iroquois," etc. "The

degree to which the magic power of nature is individualized differs considerably among various tribes. Although the belief in the powers of inanimate objects is common, we find in America that, on the whole, animals, particularly the larger ones, are most frequently considered as possessed of such magic power. Strong anthropomorphic individualization also occurs, which justifies us in calling these powers deities. It seems probable that among the majority of tribes besides the belief in the power of specific objects, a belief in a magic power that is only vaguely localized exists. In cases where this belief is pronounced, the notion sometimes approaches the concept of a deity or of a great spirit, which is hardly anthropomorphic in its character. This is the case, for instance, among the Tsimshian of British Columbia and among the Algonquian tribes of the great lakes, and also in the figure of the Tirawa of the Pawnee. . . . The whole concept of the world – or, in other words, the mythology of each tribe – enters to a very great extent into their religious concepts and activities. The mythologies are highly specialized in different parts of North America; and, although a large number of myths are the common property of many American tribes, the general view of the world appears to be quite distinct in various parts of the continent.” In the explanation of the world, the Indian view is quite different from that of the Semitic mind. The former “accepts the eternal existence of the world, and accounts for its specific form by the assumption that events which once happened in early times settled for once and all the form in which the same kind of event must continue to occur. For instance, when the bear produced the stripes of the chipmunk by scratching its back, this determined that all chipmunks were to have such stripes; or when an ancestor of a clan was taught a certain ceremony, that same ceremony must be performed by all future generations. This idea is not by any means confined to America, but is found among primitive peoples of other continents as well, and occurs even in Semitic cults.”

In considering American mythologies five great areas may be distinguished: (1) The Eskimo area, its mythology characterized by many purely human hero-tales, and a very few traditions accounting for the origin of animals (and these mainly in human setting); (2) the North Pacific, “characterized by a large circle of transformer myths, in which the origin of many of the arts of man are accounted for, as well as the peculiarities of many animals; (3) the similar traditions of the western plateau and of the Mackenzie basin area, in which animal tales abound, many accounting for the present conditions

of the world; (4) the Californian, "characterized by a stronger emphasis laid upon creation by will-power than is found in most other parts of the American continent;" and (5) the great plains, the eastern woodlands, and the arid southwest, where the tendency to "systematization of the myths under the influence of a highly developed ritual. This tendency is more sharply defined in the south than in the north and northeast," and has made most progress among the Pueblo and the Pawnee. "The religious concepts of the Indians deal largely with the relation of the individual to the magic power mentioned above, and are specialized in accordance with their general mythological concepts, which determine largely the degree to which the powers are personified as animals, spirits, or deities.

"Another group of religious concepts, which are not less important than the group heretofore discussed, refers to the relations of the individual to his internal states, so far as these are not controlled by the will, and are therefore considered as subject to external magic influences. Most important among these are dreams, sickness, and death. These may be produced by obsession, or by external forces which compel the soul to leave the body. In this sense the soul is considered by almost all the tribes as not subject to the individual will; it may be abstracted from the body by hostile forces, and it may be damaged and killed. The concept of the soul itself shows a great variety of forms. Very often the soul is identified with life, but we also find commonly the belief in a multiplicity of souls. . . . The soul is also identified with the blood, the bones, the shadow, the nape of the neck. Based on these ideas is also the belief in the existence of the soul after death. Thus, in the belief of the Algonquian Indians of the great lakes, the souls of the deceased are believed to reside in the far west with the brother of the great culture-hero [Nanabozho]. Among the Kutenai the belief prevails that the souls will return at a later period, accompanying the culture-hero. Sometimes the land from which the ancestors of the tribe have sprung, which in the south is often conceived of as underground, is of equal importance.

"Since the belief in the existence of magic powers is very strong in the Indian mind, all his actions are regulated by the desire to retain the good-will of those friendly to him and to control those that are hostile." In order to secure the former, the strict observance of a great variety of proscriptions is needed, many of which fall under the designation of taboos — especially those of food and of work; also social. There are also found, all over the continent, numerous regulations

intended to retain the good-will of the food animals, and which are essentially signs of respect shown to them; these are especially in vogue in their hunting. "Respectful behavior toward old people and generally decent conduct are also often counted among such required acts. Here also may be included the numerous customs of purification that are required in order to avoid the ill-will of the powers. These, however, may better be considered as a means of controlling magic power, which form a very large part of the religious observances of the American Indians."

"The Indian is not satisfied with the attempt to avoid the ill-will of the powers, but he tries also to make them subservient to his own needs. This may be attained in a variety of ways. Perhaps the most characteristic of all North American methods of gaining control over supernatural powers is that of the acquisition of one of them as a personal protector. Generally this process is called the acquiring of a *manito*; and the most common method of acquiring it is for the young man during the period of adolescence to purify himself by fasting, bathing, and vomiting, until his body is perfectly clean and acceptable to the supernatural beings. At the same time the youth works himself by these means, by dancing, and sometimes also by means of drugs, into a trance, in which he has a vision of the guardian spirit which is to protect him through life. These means of establishing communication with the spirit world are in very general use also at other periods of life. The magic power that man thus acquires may give him special abilities; it may make him a successful hunter, warrior, or shaman; or it may give him power to acquire wealth, success in gambling, or the love of women."

Magic power may also, in the belief of many tribes, be attained by inheritance; or it may be purchased; or it may be "transmitted by teaching and by bodily contact with a person who controls such powers." Another means of controlling the powers of nature is by prayer; also may be used charms or fetishes. "The charm is either believed to be the seat of magic power, or it may be a symbol of such power, and its action may be based on its symbolic significance; of the former kind are presumably many objects contained in the sacred bundles of certain Indians, which are believed to be possessed of sacred powers." Symbolic actions and divinations are also used for the same purpose.

"Still more potent means of influencing the powers are offerings and sacrifices. On the whole, these are not as strongly developed in

North America as they are in other parts of the world. In many regions human sacrifices were common – for instance, in Mexico and Yucatan – while in North America they are known only in rare instances, as among the Pawnee. However, many cases of torture, particularly of self-torture, must be reckoned here. Other bloody sacrifices are also rare in North America.” On the other hand, sacrifices of tobacco smoke, of corn, and of parts of food, of small manufactured objects, and of symbolic objects, are very common.”

Another method is “by incantations, which are in a way related to prayers, but which act rather through the magic influence of the words. . . . In the same way that incantations are related to prayer, certain acts and charms are related to offerings. We find among almost all Indian tribes the custom of performing certain acts, which are neither symbolic nor offerings, nor other attempts to obtain the assistance of superior beings, but which are effective through their own potency. Such acts are the use of lucky objects intended to secure good fortune; or the peculiar treatment of animals, plants, and other objects, in order to bring about a change of weather. There is also found among most Indian tribes the idea that the supernatural powers, if offended by transgressions of rules of conduct, may be propitiated by punishment. Such punishment may consist in the removal of the offending individual, who may be killed by the members of the tribe, or the propitiation may be accomplished by milder forms of punishment. . . . Other forms of punishment are based largely on the idea of purification by fasting, bathing, and vomiting.”

Protection against disease is also sought by the help of superhuman powers. These practices have two distinct forms, according to the fundamental conception of disease. Disease is conceived of principally in two forms – either as due to the presence of a material object in the body of the patient, or as an effect of the absence of the soul from the body. The cure of disease is intrusted to the shamans or medicine-men, who obtain their powers generally by the assistance of guardian spirits, or who may be personally endowed with magic powers. It is their duty to discover the material disease which is located in the patient’s body, and which they extract by sucking or pulling with the hands; or to go in pursuit of the absent soul, to recover it, and to restore it to the patient. Both of these forms of shamanism are found practically all over the continent;” but in some regions one of these theories of the cause of sickness predominates, in some the other.

"The belief that certain individuals can acquire control over the powers has also led to the opinion that they may be used to harm enemies. The possession of such control is not always beneficial, but may be used also for purposes of witchcraft. Hostile shamans may throw disease into the bodies of their enemies, or they may abduct their souls. They may do harm by sympathetic means, and control the will-power of others by the help of the supernatural means at their disposal. Witchcraft is everywhere considered as a crime, and is so punished."

"Besides those manifestations of religious belief that relate to the individual, religion has become closely associated with the social structure of the tribes; so that the ritualistic side of religion can be understood only in connection with the social organization of the Indian tribes. Even the fundamental traits of their social organization possess a religious import. This is true particularly of the clans, so far as they are characterized by totems. . . . Also in cases where the clans have definite political functions, like those of the Omaha or the Iroquois, these functions are closely associated with religious concepts, partly in so far as their origin is ascribed to myths, partly in so far as the functions are associated with the performance of religious rites. The position of officials is also closely associated with definite religious concepts. Thus, the head of a clan at times is considered as the representative of the mythological ancestor of the clan, and as such is believed to be endowed with superior powers; or the position as officer in the tribe or clan entails the performance of certain definite religious functions. In this sense many of the political functions among Indian tribes are closely associated with what may be termed 'priestly functions.' The religious significance of social institutions is most clearly marked in cases where the tribe, or large parts of the tribe, join in the performance of certain ceremonies which are intended to serve partly a political, partly a religious end. Such acts are some of the intertribal ball-games," the sun-dance and the performances of the warrior societies of the plains, and the secret societies in so many tribes. "It is characteristic of rituals in many parts of the world that they tend to develop into a more or less dramatic representation of the myth from which the ritual is derived. For this reason the use of masks is a common feature of these rituals, in which certain individuals impersonate supernatural beings. . . . It would seem that the whole system of religious beliefs and practices has developed the more systematically the more strictly the religious practices have come to be

in the charge of priests. This tendency to systematization of religious beliefs may be observed particularly among the Pueblo and the Pawnee, but it also occurs in isolated cases in other parts of the continent; for instance, among the Bellacoola of British Columbia, and those Algonquian tribes that have the Midewiwin ceremony fully developed. In these cases we find that frequently an elaborate series of esoteric doctrines and practices exist, which are known to only a small portion of the tribe, while the mass of the people are familiar only with part of the ritual and with its exoteric features. For this reason we often find the religious beliefs and practices of the mass of a tribe rather heterogeneous as compared with the beliefs held by the priests. Among many of the tribes in which priests are found we find distinct esoteric societies, and it is not by any means rare that the doctrines of one society are not in accord with those of another. All this is clearly due to the fact that the religious ideas of the tribe are derived from many different sources, and have been brought into order at a later date by the priests charged with the keeping of the tribal rituals. . . . It would seem that, on the whole, the import of the esoteric teachings decreases among the more northerly and northeasterly tribes of the continent."

"On the whole, the Indians incline strongly toward all forms of religious excitement. This is demonstrated not only by the exuberant development of ancient religious forms, but also by the frequency with which prophets have appeared among them, who taught new doctrines and new rites, based either on older religious beliefs, or on teachings partly of Christian, partly of Indian origin. Perhaps the best known of these forms of religion is the ghost-dance, which swept over a large part of the continent during the last years of the nineteenth century. But other prophets of similar type and of far-reaching influence were quite numerous. One of these was Tenskwatawa, the famous brother of Tecumseh; another, the seer Smohallah, who founded the sect of Shakers of the Pacific Coast; and even among the Eskimo such prophets have been known, particularly in Greenland." — FRANZ BOAS, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*, art. "Religion."

"In their endeavors to secure the help of the supernatural powers, the Indians, as well as other peoples, hold principally three methods: (1) The powers may be coerced by the strength of a ritualistic performance; (2) their help may be purchased by gifts in the form of sacrifices and offerings; or (3) they may be approached by prayer. Frequently the coercing ritualistic performance and the sacrifice are

accompanied by prayers; or the prayer itself may take a ritualistic form, and thus attain coercive power. In this case the prayer is called an incantation. Prayers may either be spoken words, or they may be expressed by symbolic objects, which are placed so that they convey the wishes of the worshiper to the powers. . . . Very often prayers accompany sacrifices. . . . Prayers of this kind very commonly accompany the sacrifice of food to the souls of the deceased, as among the Algonquian tribes, Eskimo, and N.W. coast Indians. The custom of expressing prayers by means of symbolic objects is found principally among the southwestern tribes. ["The so-called prayer stick of the Kickapoo was a mnemonic device for Christian prayer."—WALTER HOUGH.] Prayers are often preceded by ceremonial purification, fasting, the use of emetics and purgatives, which are intended to make the person praying agreeable to the powers. Among the North American Indians the prayer cannot be considered as necessarily connected with sacrifice or as a substitute for sacrifice, since in a great many cases prayers for good luck, for success, for protection, or for the blessing of the powers, are offered quite independently of the idea of sacrifice. While naturally material benefits are the object of prayer in by far the majority of cases, prayers for an abstract blessing and for ideal objects are not by any means absent. . . . The Indians pray not only to those supernatural powers which are considered the protectors of man—like the personal guardians or the powers of nature—but also to the hostile powers who must be appeased."

—FRANZ BOAS, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*

Tawiskaron was "an imaginary man-being of the cosmogonic philosophy of the Iroquoian and other tribes, to whom was attributed the function of making and controlling the activities and phenomena of winter. He was the Winter God, the Ice King, since his distinctive character is clearly defined in terms of the activities and phenomena of nature peculiar to this season. As an earth-power he was one of the great primal man-beings belonging to the second cosmical period of the mythological philosophy of the Iroquoian, Algonquian, and perhaps other Indians." According to the legends, he was a grandson of Awëṇ'ha'i (the Ataentsic of Huron mythology), or Mother Earth; and at his birth his body was composed of flint, and he caused the death of his mother by violently bursting through her armpit—a fault which he cast on his twin brother, Teharonhiawagon (or Jouskeha of the Hurons), who in consequence was hated by the grandmother. Teharonhiawagon was the embodiment or personification of life; he

was the creator and maker of the animals, birds, trees, and plants, and finally of man. From his father of mysterious origin he had learned the art of fire-making, and that of agriculture, and how to build a house; and these arts he communicated to mankind. In all his beneficent endeavors he was opposed by Awě<sup>n</sup>'ha'i and Tawiskaron, who continually strove to thwart his plans; but by the counsels of his father and his superior magic power he was able to gain the ascendancy over them and became (at a contest in playing the game of bowl) the ruler of the world. "The great and most important New Year ceremony among the Iroquois who still hold to their ancient faith and customs, at which is burned a purely white dog as a sacrifice, is held in honor of Teharonhiawagon for his works, blessings, and goodness, which have been enjoyed by the people." — J. N. B. HEWITT, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

Tawiskaron is practically identical with Chakekenapok in Algonquian mythology, a younger brother of Nanabozho.

### *Prophets*

"From time to time in every great tribe and every important crisis of Indian history we find certain men rising above the position of ordinary doctor, soothsayer, or ritual priest to take upon themselves an apostleship of reform and return to the uncorrupted ancestral belief and custom as the necessary means to save their people from impending destruction by decay or conquest. In some cases the teaching takes the form of a new Indian gospel, the revolutionary culmination of a long and silent development of the native religious thought. As the faithful disciples were usually promised the return of the earlier and happier conditions, the restoration of the diminished game, the expulsion of the alien intruder, and reunion in earthly existence with the priests who had preceded them to the spirit world — all to be brought about by direct supernatural interposition — the teachers have been called prophets. While all goes well with the tribe the religious feeling finds sufficient expression in the ordinary ritual forms of tribal usage, but when misfortune or destruction threaten the nation or the race, the larger emergency brings out the prophet, who strives to avert the disaster by molding his people to a common purpose through insistence upon the sacred character of his message and thus furnishes support to the chiefs in their plans for organized improvement or resistance. Thus it is found that almost every great Indian warlike combination has had its prophet messenger at the outset, and if all the

facts could be known we should probably find the rule universal. Among the most noted of these aboriginal prophets and reformers within our area are: Popé, of the Pueblo revolt of 1680; the Delaware prophet of Pontiac's conspiracy, 1762; Tenskwatawa, the Shawnee prophet, 1805; Kanakuk, the Kickapoo reformer, 1827; Tavibo, the Paiute, 1870; Nakaidoklini, the Apache, 1881; Smohalla, the dreamer of the Columbia, 1870-1885; and Wovoka or Jack Wilson, the Paiute prophet of the Ghost Dance, 1889 and later." (Consult Mooney, "Ghost Dance Religion," in *14th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, part ii, 1896.) — JAMES MOONEY, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

### *The Shawnee Prophet*

You are very well acquainted with the residence of the Shawnee Prophet,<sup>100</sup> at or near the mouth of the Tipicanoe, we may date our difficulties with the Indians from the time he and his followers first

<sup>100</sup> Tenskwatawa, "the Shawnee Prophet," was a twin brother of Tecumseh. When quite a young man he apparently died; but when his friends assembled for the funeral he revived from his trance, and told them that he had returned from a visit to the spirit world. In November, 1805, when he was hardly more than thirty years of age, he called around him his tribesmen and their allies, and announced himself as the bearer of a new revelation from the Master of Life, which he had received in the spirit world. He denounced the witchcraft and juggleries of the medicine-men, and the "fire-water" obtained from the whites as poison and accursed; and warned his hearers of the misery and punishment which would follow all these evil practices. He advocated more respect for the aged, community of property, the cessation of intermarriages between the whites and Indian women; and urged the Indians to discard all clothing, tools, and customs introduced by the whites, and to return to their primitive mode of life. Then they would be received into Divine favor, and regain the happiness that they had known before the coming of the whites. He claimed that he had received power to cure all diseases and avert death in sickness or battle. This preaching aroused great excitement and a crusade against all who were supposed to practice witchcraft. The Prophet fixed his headquarters at Greenville, Ohio, where many persons came from various tribes of the northwest to learn the new doctrines. To lend these authority, he announced various dreams and revelations, and in 1806 predicted an eclipse of the sun; the fulfilment of this brought him great prestige, and enthusiastic acceptance as a true prophet. The movement spread far to the south and the northwest; it added many recruits to the British forces in the War of 1812, and occasioned the bloody Creek War of 1813. But the influence of the Prophet and his doctrines were destroyed by the battle of Tippecanoe; after the war came to an end Tenskwatawa received a pension from the British government and resided in Canada until 1826. Then he rejoined his tribe in Ohio, and soon afterward removed with them to Kansas; he died there in November,

settled at that place, not that I believe that his first intention was inimical to the views of the United States, but when he found, he had got such influence over the different Indians he immediately changed his discourse and from the instructions he occasionally received from the British, he was continually preaching up the necessity of the Indians to have no intercourse with the Americans; as you will see in his form of prayers that he learnt to all his followers. I was informed by a very intelligent young man who has been often at the Prophet's village, and who has conversed with the Prophet and Tecumseh, he gave me the following history of the Prophet.

The Prophet with all his brothers are pure Indians of the Shawanoe nation, and when a boy, was a perfect vagabond and as he grew up he w<sup>d</sup> not hunt and became a great drunkard. While he lived near Greenville in the State of Ohio, where spirituous liquor are plenty he was continually intoxicated; having observed some preachers<sup>101</sup> who lived in the vicinity of Greenville a preaching or rather the motions, etc., in preaching (as he cannot understand a word of English) it had such an effect on him, that one night he dreamt that the Great Spirit found fault with his way of living, that he must leave of[f] drinking, and lead a new life, and also instruct all the red people the proper way of living. He immediately refrained from drinking any kind of spirituous liquor, and recommended it strongly to all the Indians far and near to follow his example, and laid down certain laws that was to guide the red people in future. I shall here give you as many of those laws or regulations as I can now remember, but I know I have forgot many.

1<sup>st</sup> Spirituous liquor was not to be tasted by any Indians on any account whatever.

2<sup>nd</sup> No Indian was to take more than one wife in future, but those who now had two three or more wives might keep them, but it would please the Great Spirit if they had only one wife.

3<sup>d</sup> No Indian was to be runing after the women; if a man was single let him take a wife.

1837, at the present town of Argentine. "Although his personal appearance was marred by blindness in one eye, Tenskwatawa possessed a magnetic and powerful personality; and the religious fervor he created among the Indian tribes, unless we except that during the recent 'ghost dance' disturbance, has been equaled at no time since the beginning of white contact." — JAMES MOONEY, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

<sup>101</sup> These were Shaker missionaries to the Indians, according to Forsyth (see his sketch of Tecumseh and the Prophet in vol. iv of *Forsyth Papers*). — Ed.



SHAWNEE PROPHET



4<sup>th</sup> If any married woman was to behave ill by not paying proper attention to her work, etc., the husband had a right to punish her with a rod, and as soon as the punishment was over, both husband and wife, was to look each other in the face and laugh, and to bear no ill will to each other for what had passed.

5<sup>th</sup> All Indian women who were living with whitemen was to be brought home to their friends and relations, and their children to be left with their fathers, so that the nations might become genuine Indians.

6<sup>th</sup> All medicine bags, and all kinds of medicine dances and songs were to exist no more; the medicine bags were to be destroyed in *presens* of the whole of the people collected for that purpose, and at the destroying of such medicine, etc., every one was to make open <sup>102</sup> confession to the Great Spirit in a loud voice of all the bad deeds that he or she had committed during their lifetime, and beg for forgiveness as the Great Spirit was too good to refuse.

7<sup>th</sup> No Indian was to sell any of their provision to any white people, they might give a little as a present, as they were sure of getting in return the full value in something else.

8<sup>th</sup> No Indian was to eat any victuals that was cooked by a White person, or to eat any provisions raised by White people, as bread, beef, pork, fowls, etc.

9<sup>th</sup> No Indian must offer skins or furs or any thing else for sale, but ask to exchange them for such articles that they may want.

10<sup>th</sup> Every Indian was to consider the French, English, and Spaniards, as their fathers or friends, and to give them their hand, but they were not to know the Americans on any account, but to keep them at a distance.

11<sup>th</sup> All kind of white people's drefs, such as hats, coats, etc., were to be given to the first whiteman they met as also all dogs not of their own breed, and all cats were to be given back to white people.

12<sup>th</sup> The Indians were to endeavour to do without buying any merchandise as much as possible, by which means the game would become plenty, and then by means of bows and arrows, they could hunt and kill game as in former days, and live independent of all white people.

13<sup>th</sup> All Indians who refused to follow these regulations were to be considered as bad people and not worthy to live, and must be put to

<sup>102</sup> "Indians who have been present at some of these confessions, have repeated them to me, and certainly they were ridiculous in the extreme."

— T. FORSYTH (marginal note).

death. (A Kickapoo Indian was actually burned in the spring of the year 1809 at the old Kickapoo Town for refusing to give up his medicine bag, and another old man and old woman was very near sharing the same fate at the same time and place).

14<sup>th</sup> The Indians in their prayers prayed to the earth, to be fruitful, also to the fish to be plenty, to the fire and sun, etc., and a certain dance was introduced simply for amusement, those prayers were repeated morning and evening, and they were taught that a diviation from these duties would offend the Great Spirit. There were many more regulations but I now have forgot them, but those above mentioned are the principal ones.

The Prophet had his disciples among every nation of Indians, from Detroit in Michigan Territory, to the Indians on the Mifsissippi and [I] have since been informed, that, there were disciples of the Prophet, among all the Indians of the Mifsouri and as far north as Hudson Bay (see Tanner's narrative) always reserving the supreme authority to himself, viz, that he (the Prophet) might be considered the head of the whole of the different nations of Indians, as he only, could see and converse with the Great Spirit. As every nation was to have but one village, by which means they would be always together in case of danger. The Pottawatimie Indians in the course of one season got tired of this strict way of living, and declared off, and joined the main poque,<sup>103</sup> as he never would acknowledge the Prophet as his superiour, seeing perfectly that he the Prophet was seeking enfluence among the different Indian nations. Many Indians still follow the dictates of the Prophet in a great measure. The Prophet's plan in the first instance was to collect by fair means all the Indians he could, to live in the same village with him, and when he thought his party sufficiently strong, he would oblidge the others to come into measures by force, and when so asembled in great numbers, that he would be able to give laws to the white people. Tecumseh<sup>104</sup> has been heard to say,

<sup>103</sup> "The Main Poque was a pure Pottawatimie Indian, and a great juggler, and made the credulous Indians believe every thing he said, he had great influence among the Chipeways, Ottawas, Pottawatimies, Kicapooos, Sauks, Fox and other Indians. He died along Lake Michigan in summer of 1816."

—T. FORSYTH (marginal note).

See note 76 for sketch of this chief.—Ed.

<sup>104</sup> Tecumseh (properly Tikamthi or Tecumtha) was a celebrated Shawnee chief, born in 1768 at the Shawnee village of Piqua (which was destroyed by the Kentuckians in 1780); his father and two brothers were killed in battle with the whites. "While still a young man Tecumseh distinguished himself

"We must not leave this place" (meaning Tipicaneo) <sup>105</sup> "we must remain stedfast here, to keep those people who wear hats, in check;" he also observed to the Indians, "no white man who walks on the earth, loves an Indian, the white people are made up with such materials, that they will always deceive us, even the British who says they love us, is because they may want our services, and as we yet want their goods, we must, therefore, shew them some kind of friendship." — THOMAS FORSYTH, in unpublished letter to Gen. William Clark (St. Louis, Dec. 23, 1812); in *Forsyth Papers*, vol. ix.

in the border wars of the period, but was noted also for his humane character, evinced by persuading his tribe to discontinue the practice of torturing prisoners. Together with his brother Tenskwatawa the Prophet, he was an ardent opponent of the advance of the white man, and denied the right of the government to make land purchases from any single tribe, on the ground that the territory, especially in the Ohio valley country, belonged to all the tribes in common. On the refusal of the government to recognize this principle, he undertook the formation of a great confederacy of all the western and southern tribes for the purpose of holding the Ohio River as the permanent boundary between the two races. In pursuance of this object he or his agents visited every tribe from Florida to the head of the Missouri River. While Tecumseh was organizing the work in the south his plans were brought to disastrous overthrow by the premature battle of Tippecanoe under the direction of the Prophet, Nov. 7, 1811." He fought for the British in the War of 1812, and was created by them a brigadier-general, having under his command some 2,000 warriors of the allied tribes. Finally, at the battle on Thames River (near the present Chatham, Ontario), the allied British and Indians were utterly defeated by General Harrison, Oct. 5, 1813; and in this contest Tecumseh was killed, being then in his forty-fifth year. He may be considered the most extraordinary Indian character in United States history. — JAMES MOONEY, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

<sup>105</sup> Tippecanoe was a noted village site on the west bank of the Wabash River, just below the mouth of Tippecanoe River, Indiana. "It was originally occupied by the Miami, the earliest known occupants of the region, and later by the Shawnee, who were in possession when it was attacked and destroyed by the Americans under Wilkinson in 1791, at which time it contained one hundred and twenty houses. It was soon after rebuilt and occupied by the Potawatomi, and finally on their invitation became the headquarters of Tecumseh and his brother the Prophet, with their followers, whence the name Prophetstown." Gen. W. H. Harrison marched against them with nine hundred men, and near the town his army was attacked by the Indians (Nov. 7, 1811), under command of the Prophet. The battle of Tippecanoe resulted in the complete defeat and dispersion of the Indians, with considerable loss on both sides. The site was reoccupied for a short time a few years later.

— JAMES MOONEY, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

*The Kickapoo Prophet*

Sometime last month (October, 1832) a party of Kickapoo Indians were encamped near the River des Peres, and about a mile from my place of residence (my farm). Curiosity led me to go and see them, as I was formerly acquainted with some of their old people. I found them to be the Prophet or Preachers<sup>106</sup> party, in going into their camp I was much surprised to find their dogs so quiet and peaceable, in every camp or lodge of every individual, a piece of flat wood hung up about three inches broad and twelve or fifteen inches long on which were burned with a hot iron (apparently) a number of straight and crooked marks, this stick or board so marked they called their Bible. Those Indians told me that they worked six days and the seventh they done no kind of work, but prayed to the Great Spirit, that no men of their community were allowed to have more than one wife, that none, either young or old, male or female, were allowed to paint themselves, that they never made, or intended to make, war, against any people that they never stole, tell lies or do any thing bad, that those who would not learn their prayers according to the direction of the Preacher, he or she was punished with a whip by a man appointed for that purpose, that spirituous liquor was not to be tasted by any one belonging to the community on pain of death but they were to do unto all people, as they wished to be done by. The Kickapoo nation is divided into two parties, one party under the Prophet or Preacher the other, (which is the largest party) are under their chiefs now living west of this State (Missouri) where the party under the Prophet is on their way to join them, and no doubt will try and bring them all under his control. I should not be surprised, if this

<sup>106</sup> This is evidently a reference to Kanakuk, a prophet who arose among the Kickapoo after they ceded their lands (1819) to the United States, and part of the tribe migrated to Spanish territory. Kanakuk exhorted the remainder of his people to remain in Illinois, to lead moral lives, to abandon their old superstitions, to live in peace with one another and with the white men, and to avoid all use of intoxicating liquors. Those of his people who remained in Illinois accepted him as their chief, and "many of the Potawatomi of Michigan became his disciples. He displayed a chart of the path, leading through fire and water, which the virtuous must pursue to reach the 'happy hunting grounds,' and furnished his followers with prayer-sticks [described above by Forsyth] graven with religious symbols. When in the end the Kickapoo were removed to Kansas he accompanied them and remained their chief, still keeping drink away from them, until he died of smallpox in 1852." (See Mooney's account in *Fourteenth Report of Bureau of American Ethnology* [1896], 692-700.) — *Handbook Amer. Indians.*

preaching of the Prophet of the Kicapoo Indians, is the commencement of a religion which will take place among all the different Indian nations, who are, and are to be settled, in a country west of this State (Missouri) and my present impression is, that it ought to be encouraged by the government as it inculcates peace and good will to all men. I have been informed that the above party on their way to their place of destination, were seen punishing several of their people with a whip, for something they done wrong. — THOMAS FORSYTH (memorandum at end of vol. IX of *Forsyth Papers*).

### *The Winnebago Mescal-eaters*

In this connection, the following note is of especial interest. It is furnished by Mr. Thomas R. Roddy (also known as "White Buffalo"). Among that tribe considerable progress has been made in late years by a "new religion," popularly designated as that of the "mescal-eaters," or the "mescal-button." Our readers are indeed fortunate in having this interesting account of its history and results, from so authoritative a source; it is sent to the editor by Mr. Roddy from Winnebago, Neb., under date of April 15, 1909. — ED.

I enclose a short history of the Mescal-eaters of the Winnebago tribe, as I know them from personal experience among them, and from conversations with the leading members of the cult. The name of Mescal-eaters is generally used, and its members call themselves by it, in their talk; but it is erroneous, as these people never used the mescal-bean in any form. This is a small red bean, nearly round, and similar in shape to the common navy bean; while what the Winnebagoes and many other tribes use is called "peyote,"<sup>107</sup> which is a

<sup>107</sup> Peyote (a name of Nahuatl origin): a kind of cactus (*Lophophora wilsonii*, Coulter; also named *Anhalonium lewini*), found along the lower Rio Grande and in Mexico, which long has been used for ceremonial and medicinal purposes by the southern and Mexican tribes; it has been incorrectly confused by the whites with the maguey cactus, from which the intoxicant mescal is prepared. "The peyote plant resembles a radish in size and shape, the top only appearing above ground. From the center springs a beautiful white blossom, which is later displaced by a tuft of white down. North of the Rio Grande this top alone is used, being sliced and dried to form the so-called 'button.' In Mexico the whole plant is cut into slices, dried, and used in decoction, while the ceremony also is essentially different from that of the northern tribes." This plant has been examined and tested at Washington, and "tests thus far made indicate that it possesses varied and valuable medicinal properties, tending to confirm the idea of the Indians, who regard it almost as a panacea." Among the Mexican tribes, the chief feature of the ceremony is a

cactus growth, found in southern Texas and Mexico. It is a round, flat pod, one to two inches in diameter; it is used in their church services, being eaten and also made into tea, which is passed to the members at intervals during services. These services are usually held Saturday nights, beginning about eight o'clock, and lasting till about the same hour Sunday morning; and are of a very religious and solemn nature. God is their guide, and they use the Bible and quotations from it all through the services; they have short speeches by the members, singing of sacred songs, and playing on the small medicine drum; and they use the sacred gourd rattle, on which are traced drawings of Christ, the cross and crown, the shepherd's crook, and other religious emblems. The drawings or carvings are done with great skill and show the work of an artist. Each member on joining is presented with one of these musical gourds, which he uses during services. Speeches are usually made in their native Indian tongue, but when whites are present the speech is interpreted into the English language. On this reservation the membership is about three hundred, and they have a very comfortable church. When they visit where there is no church they erect a large cloth tepee, and hold services here for winning converts. Their altar is in the shape of a heart, about eight feet in length, and is built of cement; the members sit around this altar.

Medicine-eating can be traced back in this country about 200 years; it was first introduced by the Miskarora [i.e., Mescaleros], a tribe of old Mexico, among the Apaches and Timgas of Oklahoma—the Apaches introducing it among the Comanches, Kiowas, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and Otoes. Twelve years ago the Otoes brought the new religion to the Winnebagoes and Omahas of Nebraska, where now about one-third of each tribe are members; and they are the most prosperous people of the tribe. In talking with Albert Hensley, one of the prominent leaders, he said: "The mescal was formerly used improperly, but since it has been used in connection with the Bible it is proving a great benefit to the Indians. Now we call our church the Union Church, instead of Mescal-eaters. Our ways may seem peculiar to

dance; but among the northern Plains tribes "it is rather a ceremony of prayer and quiet contemplation. It is usually performed as an invocation for the recovery of some sick person. . . . The number of 'buttons' eaten by one individual during the night varies from ten to forty, and even more, the drug producing a sort of spiritual exaltation differing entirely from that produced by any other known drug, and apparently without any reaction." — JAMES MOONEY, in *Handbook Amer. Indians*.

some people, but our worship is earnest, and [we address] the same God as others do. We are doing this not to protect this medicine, but for God, as others do, and are not trying to deceive other Christian people. In doing so we would destroy ourselves and our God. Some try to stop our worshiping, but it is the work of God and cannot be stopped." Medicine-eating is praised highly by the members, and opposed as bitterly by the other faction. I have attended several of the meetings, and have also experienced the eating and drinking of the "peyote" medicine, with no bad effects. It is very surprising, the way the Indians have become familiar with the Bible, and how closely they try to follow the teachings of Jesus. By using the medicine in connection with the Bible, they are able to understand the Bible. Many members I have known twenty-five or thirty years, who formerly had been greatly addicted to the use of liquors and tobacco, and other vices; all have quit these bad habits and live for their religion. I cannot see wherein their minds have become impaired, as many talk and write, but I can see great improvements and advancement among the members. They are the best business men among this tribe, and their credit is good wherever they are known. John Rave, the leader, is one of the old-type Indians, of fine personal appearance, and has used the medicine twelve years; and any one would be pleased to engage him in conversation and hear his explanations of the Bible, and talk on the benefits and happiness enjoyed through this new religion. One wrong and misleading fact is the name "Mescal-eaters," which seems to cling to the minds of the general public. The Winnebagoes have the credit of being the first to use the Bible in conjunction with this medicine.

## APPENDIX C

From a mass of correspondence incident to the preparation of the present work, the editor has selected the following extracts from letters, etc., written by persons who know from actual observation and experience the facts regarding what they state, and who are reliable and competent observers. Rev. Henry I. Westropp is a Jesuit missionary among the (Oglala) Sioux at Pine Ridge Agency, S. Dak. Franklin W. Calkins is the author of various books and magazine stories of Indian and frontier life; he has seen much of the Indians, and at one time lived among some of the Sioux and was adopted into their tribe. Rev. William Metzdorf (a secular priest), of St. Francis, Wis., was formerly a missionary among the Potawatomi of Kansas. Rev. J. Stucki is a Protestant missionary among the Winnebago of Wisconsin, at Black River Falls, Wis.; and Thomas R. Roddy is (as mentioned on page 281). These letters are used here, to give some idea of the character and present condition or status of the above tribes. — ED.

### *The Sioux*

The Sioux have always been a religious-minded people, and it seems that even before the advent of the white men they believed in one God, whom they called the "Great Holy One" — great, as compared to a numerous band of other "holy ones" that they had. With such fruitful soil to work in, it was easy for the Christian missionary to sow the seed of the gospel. Their ideas of morality had always been strict, and these ideas still remain today. The Indian maidens are exceedingly bashful; they will run at the approach of a stranger, or, if that is impossible, hide their faces in their shawls; they dare not speak to any one in public, and at times refuse to answer even necessary questions. None of the Indians, as a rule, manifest their feelings in the way that white people do. Usually the Indian does not thank you for any benefit; he cannot blush, or if he does no one can see it; his code of honor is the contrary of the white man's, and his etiquette is very simple. This has led many to believe that he is taciturn, impassive, and un-

emotional; and yet nothing is more false. Conversation, social dinners, and smokes are the Indian's life. Two never talk at once; each one has his turn. Their inclination to curiosity may be estimated by the fact that they will recognize any one passing their house, a mile away, and perhaps tell him a year afterward what kind of a horse he was riding – something that they certainly could not do unless they were accustomed to scrutinize everything most curiously. When any one of their kindred is sick, they must travel miles and miles to show their sympathy; and if he dies, this event (as also his burial) is the occasion for all kinds of expressions of their sympathy and regret. To indicate this, they often cut their hair and dress in black for a year or more. Often they give away, at the death of a dear relative, all they possess – calico, food, blankets, ponies; and even the house is torn down. This idea of giving away everything, of doing "the big thing," is doubtless a beautiful trait, but it prevents progress. On the occasion of an Omaha dance or a Fourth of July celebration, the generous Sioux will stand up and give away anything and everything. An Indian can exercise no self-control in this respect; if he feels sad, he would give away the globe, if he owned it. In all his dealings he presents the figure of a grown-up child; and yet there is scarcely a white man who will not cheat this child wherever he can. It is a mistaken policy to treat them as grown-up persons. They have land, cattle, and everything imaginable issued to them; but as long as there is not an overseer with them to hold them down, and teach them how to use the land and implements they get, these are useless. Like a set of boys, when tired of work they run off and play; they cast everything aside, cattle, family, and all; they join a Buffalo Bill show, go off to another tribe on a visit, and so on. If one man gets a good start, there will be so many visitors around that he is scarcely to be envied. They are great visitors; that is their principal occupation. Their horses are run down to skin and bone, their places neglected, and everything thrown to the wind, so that they may go and visit their relatives, or other tribes. The weekly dance, the semi-monthly trip for rations, and trips to the store and the railroad, leave them but little remaining time for work. Under these circumstances, acquiring wealth or even supporting themselves is out of the question. Their miserable huts are hotbeds of disease; dirty clothes and blankets, ditto. Food of all and any kind, or none at all; carelessness in wet and cold seasons; lack of knowledge how to take care of themselves; lack of medical attendance – all these are working frightful havoc among them. Although

they are scattered over so immense a territory, the missionary is doing what he can to teach them, and urging them to work and stay at home. He helps them out of his own pocketbook, tries to secure by foresight their seed in time, and procures for them the means to aid themselves; but this work is nothing to what it could be, since we so greatly lack the necessary means, ourselves living on charity. There is no reason why this great and noble tribe should not be saved, if we had the means. The missionary has great influence over them, and so has the religion which they embrace. The tribe ought to double its numbers every few years, for their fertility is great. The number of twins born among them surpasses belief, and every Indian woman gives birth to eight or ten children. Where are they? you ask; go find them in the graveyard.

There seems to be an impression in many quarters that the Indian is a liar and a thief; but nothing is farther from the truth. Indians are, like children, very unreliable, and I never take them too seriously. They are liable to say anything that comes into their heads, and their language is full of exaggerations. If they mean to say that a man laughed, or was frightened, or hungry, they will say that he died of laughter, or fright, or hunger. Burglary is unknown among them. When one of them leaves his tent, he puts a stick of wood in front of the flap, and no one will enter while he is gone. Knocking a man on the head for the sake of his money is unknown. If the Indian steals from the white man, he is practically taking back what belongs to him; and if, when at times he feels the gnawing pangs of hunger, he goes out and kills whatever cattle he may find, what wonder is it? Wilful murder is also very, very uncommon; and when Indians are brought before the courts their troubles are usually caused by drink, the worst enemy of these people. Drink is certainly the king of all the evils existing out here. The Indian will pawn his last shirt for a drink of "holy water," as he calls it. The Indians here (at Pine Ridge) being far removed from the railroad, liquor has not wrought such ravages here as among some other tribes; but unless the government takes strong measures against whisky-sellers the evil will be the same here as on other reservations – for the Indians are nothing else but children, and cannot resist a seducer.

– REVEREND HENRY I. WESTROPP, S.J., Pine Ridge, S. Dak.

You will find in my latest book, *The Wooing of Tokala*, a clear statement of my impressions regarding Indian character. Although

this book is in the form of a novel, or story, it is primarily expository. In its dealings with Siouan sociology and, I may boldly add, psychology, it is endorsed by all educated Sioux, and by all its readers who have known the Sioux tongue and tribal life. It is in fact an intimate study of the Indians at first hand, and in it I have given conscientiously my best studies of the Dakota people. In the character of Tokala may be seen the chaste Sioux maiden – not at her best, because I haven't the ability to present her at her best; nor do I know of any one who is able to set forth fully the subtle *nuances* of Indian character. But I have in that book dealt as amply as I could with the moral character of the Dakota. Their standards of morality are very high, and their children are trained in accordance with these. When I lived among them there were only a very few disorderly or bad characters in the entire tribe; and these were regarded in precisely the same light as such persons are in any moral and well-regulated community of white people. – FRANKLIN WELLES CALKINS, Maine, Minn.

### *The Pottawatomi*

Out on the bare prairies of Kansas I lived with the Pottawatomi Indians for four years, and became as one of their tribe; and what I here relate is based mostly on my own observations, or on traditions preserved in the tribe and told to me by the Indians. When the Pottawatomis first came into contact with the whites they occupied lands in southern Michigan and Wisconsin; about the time of the Revolutionary War they gradually left Michigan entirely and settled on their Wisconsin lands. About 1850 most of them went across the Mississippi, following the trail of the buffalo, and dispersed over the great western plains; a smaller number remained in the Wisconsin woods. Later, the government gave those of the plains a reservation on the Kansas River; but part of these lands were sold, and now the remnant of the tribe, about 1,200 in number, are living on their reservation in the northeastern corner of Kansas – besides a band who settled on the Pottawatomic reservation in Oklahoma, and those who now live on reservations in the northern part of Wisconsin. At times the latter Indians receive visits from their tribesmen in the south, who like to revisit their old Wisconsin home, which some of them still remember.

Their language is very like that of the Ojibwa, the Ottawas, and the Kickapoos; and its soft and harmonious, but brief and clear-cut, sounds tell us that we are dealing with a race of fine feeling, and manly but peaceable character. In many respects it is a beautiful language;

it is the very embodiment of system and regularity, and is very euphonic, with no harsh, grating sounds. The general rule is, that after each consonant a vowel follows; and when two or more consonants meet they readily combine and flow together. It is a language of verbs, almost four-fifths of its words being of that class; and it abounds in inflections, every phase of being, thought, or action being expressed by some termination. In it the letters n, f, l, r, v, x, y, z are lacking, except in words of foreign origin; and every written letter is pronounced. There are nine conjugations in this language, and each one can be used affirmatively, negatively, and dubitatively; moreover, a verb can be used to express any phase of thought. There is to-day a considerable literature in the Ojibwa language, including even a newspaper, the *Anishinabe Enamiad* (i.e., *The Catholic Indian*), which is published weekly by the missionaries in Harbor Springs, Mich., and is read by many of the Pottawatomis. I began the preparation of a Pottawatomi grammar, the first attempt at such a book (and in their dialect nothing has yet been published except a prayer-book); but I was called to another field, and did not finish it.

The idea that some people have of these Indians, that they are wild, cruel savages, or a race who can not be civilized, is entirely wrong and false. On the contrary, we find that with their bad habits – which I am sorry to say were taught to them mostly by white men – they have many very good qualities. If they are not quite as friendly toward the whites as we could wish, we must attribute this to the fact that they have not been treated right by the whites. The side of their life that I most admire is the quiet and peaceful family life. They very seldom quarrel in their homes, and the women do their work quietly and take care of their children, whom they love with greater affection than do many of the white women. I have never seen an Indian cruel to his children, and their patience with the faults of the children is astonishing. The curse of divorce is hardly known among them; they really believe in the indissolubility of the marriage bond, and, if the married pair have differences and become angered at each other, one of the two goes to stay with some neighbor until the other asks him or her to return and promises to be good again.

They dislike water, even for mere hygienic purposes, and their passion for strong drink has become proverbial; but they know their weakness, and I had in my congregation a great many Indians who belonged to the Temperance League and never touched a drop of any intoxicant. Their dislike for hard work is a characteristic which they



PECHECHO (Potawattomi)



have in common with many other races. But a peculiar feature which I often notice is hard to explain: the Indian man seems to have an abhorrence for sickness. If a member of his family is sick he usually leaves the house, goes to stay with some neighbor, and sends the neighbor's wife to his home to take care of his sick wife or child. Thus I often arrived at a sick-bed and found the poor family alone, because the neighbor had not yet come.

A very large part of the Pottawatomis are still heathens, and stick to their old religion with the same tenacity which the Christian converts show in their new faith. The former are less civilized, and never use the English language in their conversation, even when they are able to speak it. Naturally they sometimes show that they consider the Christians as renegades, and too great friends of the white men, and will not take part in any of their doings unless the whole tribe is interested in it. They believe in a Supreme Being, *Kitchi Manito*, the creator and benefactor of all mankind; they honor and adore him in the sun, and therefore they often call him *Kisis*, which means "the sun," or "month." They worship this God through their so-called dances, which are really religious ceremonies. Especially among this tribe, there are three great dances, each one lasting from two to three weeks: the first one, called the "green bean dance," is celebrated early in the summer, when the bean, one of their staple products, is ready for the table. The second, the most elaborate of all, the "green corn dance,"<sup>108</sup> is celebrated when the corn is in its milk, in the right stage of growth to rejoice every Indian's heart. First, they all stack up as much hay as they need to feed their horses over winter, and as soon as the last haystack is completed they pack up their tents and travel to their dancing-ground, where they will stay until all celebrations are over. Later on, in the fall, they usually have a "Powou," a celebration corresponding to our Thanksgiving, the turkey being the central figure at the dancing-ground. This is a circular field prepared for that purpose; it is in the neighborhood of the chief's house, on the border of Big Soldier Creek, surrounded by trees and woods; the outer circle of this ground is raised a little, thus forming natural benches, which the women occupy. In the neighborhood a great dance-hall has been erected, built of boards; and in this they continue their dances, if storms or heavy rains interfere with the outdoor programme.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. the dance of this name (more commonly known as "busk") among the Creeks, their solemn annual festival, one of rejoicing over the first fruits of the year. See account of this feast in *Handbook Amer. Indians.* — Ed.

They consider their dancing-ground a sacred place. For their great dances invitations are sent out to their relatives and to neighboring tribes; and thus many strangers are present on those occasions, as well as Pottawatomis from Wisconsin — who go to attend the ceremonies and also to draw money due them on allotments which they had received on the Kansas reservation. Catholics do not usually take part in these dances, except that some of the young fellows are drawn in when they hear the drums, and finally join in the dancing. These dancing feasts also include speeches, singing, and smoking — the latter being done with one pipe by perhaps a hundred persons; to this practice may be traced the spread of some diseases among them. They do not like to have their pictures taken, and any attempts to photograph them at these ceremonies have usually ended in the destruction of the camera. In the center of the dancing-ground is a large red cross, at the foot of which the eatables are deposited when they have their dinner. This cross is a peculiar feature in the Indian camps. I often inquired for its meaning, but could get no further information than that this custom was as old as the Indians. I think, however, that it is an old tradition of the Christian instruction which they received from the first missionaries among them, which they did not fully understand and have adopted into their ceremonial. At these feasts they thank the sun for the crops which he has given them, and the warm weather which has enabled these to grow, and they praise Kitchi Manito. On the last day they have a special ceremony over the sacred dog, which has been killed and cooked. Its skull is placed before the cross, and the meat is distributed among the dancers; singing their songs loudly, they dance around the skull, and finally jump over it. On one occasion, toward the end of the ceremony I saw an Indian step into the middle of the ring, and confess a crime which he had committed and for which the tribe had disowned him. He received pardon from the chief, and as a sign of reconciliation he was given a cup of milk by the chief, after which they crossed the pipes of peace. Outside of their dances the non-Christian Indians show hardly any sign of religion, except at their funerals. They place their dead in a sitting posture above the ground, the back of the corpse leaning against a stone or a tree. Others deposit their dead in hollow trees, which they cut off at the top, lowering the body into this hollow amidst plaintive songs and the monotonous beating of drums. I have seen such hollow trees that were actually filled with skeletons from top to bottom. Generally the body is only partly covered with logs or stones or earth.

They then tie a dog near the grave, to keep watch over it. If he is able to get loose before he starves to death, and goes home, it is considered a good omen, a sign that the deceased has arrived happily at the great hunting-grounds, and does not need the dog any more. Often, in passing by new graves, I made both dog and people happy, by cutting the rope.

No orphan asylums are needed among these people. If a mother loses one of her children she tries to soothe her sorrow by adopting an orphan or waif of about the same age; and all such children are well cared for. Such an adoption is a great feast for the tribe, the central figure being the adopted child; it is well dressed, and, according to the wealth of the new mother, receives many and fine presents. I always enjoyed these occasions, on account of the friendly and kind spirit which I always observed, and with which they treated me.

The Christians in this tribe were converted by the renowned Jesuit, Father Galligan, about fifty years ago; and although after his death they were left entirely to themselves, because no priest spoke their language, they adhered loyally to their adopted faith. Once or twice a week, throughout the long period of twenty-five years, groups of them met together, and said their prayers in common, and listened to the teaching of some of the older and better-instructed men. Their services consisted in reciting prayers and especially in singing the old religious songs, which had been translated for them into their language by Father Galligan and Bishop Báraga;<sup>109</sup> these gatherings lasted until a late hour, and were concluded by an elaborate meal. In this way the faith of the Christians was preserved, and, although many of them were poorly instructed, none of them fell away from their adopted faith; and when I first went to stay with them I found that they all were practical Catholics, and that they believed in their religion. The missionary who labors among them has no reason to complain about neglect of religious duty on the part of the Indians; and I could always point to them as exemplary church-goers. They receive the sacraments often, attend religious services regularly, and respond willingly to every demand of the priest. There is, of course, a little side-attraction connected with the divine services, as they all, after these are ended, partake of a sumptuous meal; thus every church

<sup>109</sup> Rev. (afterward Bishop) Frederic Báraga, a native of Austria, began a Catholic mission at La Pointe, on Chequamegon Bay, in 1835. He spent the rest of his life in missionary labors in northern Michigan and Wisconsin, dying in 1868. See *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, vol. xii, 445, 446, 451. — Ed.

day is for them a kind of feast day. Peace, unity, and a spirit of good-fellowship prevail among them, and recall to us the love-feasts of the first Christians.

Among these Pottawatomis are persons, both of pure and of mixed blood, who are some of my best friends, and their friendship I appreciate as much as that of white people; and they are in every respect equal to our white men and women. Among them is the reverend Father Negauquetl, a full-blood Indian; he pursued his studies in the Sacred Heart College in Oklahoma and later at the Propaganda in Rome, where he was ordained a priest in 1905; and he is now working among his own people and the whites in the Indian Territory. He is the first Catholic priest of his race, and speaks both English and Italian perfectly, besides the different Indian dialects. Another is a Miss Blandin (now Mrs. Graham), the daughter of an English father and a full-blooded Indian mother; she is highly accomplished, an excellent musician, and a graduate from the University of Holton, Kans. Many of these Indians are highly esteemed by their white neighbors, and move in the best society. Along the two Soldier Creeks may be seen beautiful residences, with large barns, the property of wealthy Indians. The finest cattle and horses are shipped to market by them, and the checks that they sign are honored at any bank in Kansas. They dress in style and good taste, and they and their families appear in citizen clothes; they speak the English language well, and are in every respect true Americans. There is another but poorer class of Christians on that reservation who have no land of their own, and, not being able to acquire any land on the reservation, they rent land from other Indians. These are thrifty farmers, save their money, and are the best of Catholics. I wish that I could speak as highly of those who are non-Christians; their progress in civilization is slow, and most of them, at least the women, do not know the English language at all. They have struck a compromise in clothing, and appear only partly in citizen's dress; clinging to the blanket as if it were a part of their religion. Many years will be needed to civilize them fully, and it is to be feared that not many of them will be left for that; for every year diseases, especially consumption, erysipelas, and smallpox, carry many of them to the grave. The government makes great efforts to be just to the Indians, but even this fact is, I think, an explanation of their slow advance. Every Pottawatomi man, woman, and child receives from the government one hundred and sixty acres of land, and sometimes much more; as this is good hay land, it is rented, through the



O-CHEK-KA (Winnebago)



agent, for two dollars an acre, to white people, for cutting the hay. This secures to an Indian family – for instance, the father and mother, and five children – an income of about two thousand dollars, which is sufficient for them to live on without doing a stroke of work. If the Indian does not work, we cannot expect him to become a useful citizen; he needs both a teacher and a taskmaster, who will teach him at once the principles of Christianity and the love of labor, and show him that it is a blessing. Injustice, bloody persecutions, and wars of extermination did much to make the Indian that crafty and bloodthirsty savage whom we so often meet in story and history; but such is not his real nature. And now when truthful and sympathetic historians are looking up the records of the Indians, and studying their history, character, customs, and beliefs, we must deeply regret that in the past they were not given more sympathy and greater opportunities, and that the unfortunate conditions which tend to cause their extermination still continue. – Rev. WILLIAM METZDORF, St. Francis, Wis. (from an unpublished lecture given by him in Milwaukee, Jan. 21, 1907).

### *The Winnebago*

As a rule, these Indians are very sociable among themselves, and with outsiders whom they have proved to be their friends. Toward strangers they are very reserved, and this may especially be said of the women. Very seldom a family lives alone; usually two or more families live close together. They are peaceable except when under the influence of liquor. They are hospitable even to excess. As a rule, diligence and cleanliness are not their strongest points; but their way of living (in tents), and their land being unfit for cultivation, will to some extent account for both. Their morals are not all one could wish, especially among the younger generation. "Firewater" is the great enemy of these Indians, and there are always unscrupulous whites who for the sake of gain will furnish it to them. Some of the Indians are bad, but there are also some who are highly deserving of respect, who might be pointed out as examples for others to follow. The greatest drawback to the elevation of these people is the poor soil on which they are located; they can not make their living on it, and are consequently compelled to scatter in all directions, in order to seek work by which to make a living; and thus they often come into contact with a class of whites whose influence is anything but edifying. The "new religion" (the use of the "mescal button") when first brought to these Indians found quite a number of adherents; but it

seems to have lost ground gradually, and many of the Indians were very much opposed to it. — REV. J. STUCKI, Black River Falls, Wis.

The Wisconsin Winnebagoes have very poor sandy lands, and are not far advanced in farming, especially as they receive but little encouragement from the government or its employees. The Winnebagoes are naturally bright, intelligent people, more so than the average of Indian tribes; they are more intelligent than the ordinary white people, or the corn-eating natives of Nebraska. Those who live in Wisconsin earn their living by hunting and trapping, berry-picking, gathering ginseng, husking corn, digging potatoes, cutting wood, etc. Under the present methods, they waste considerable time waiting for the payment of the government annuities. I look for great advancement among the several tribes when the trust funds are paid, and the Indians are made to mingle more with the whites, and go out into the world to do the best they can; they will then reach the top of the ladder. Good education is all right for them if only they have something to do when their school days are over; but at the present day there is nothing for them except to go back to the wigwam. A Winnebago from Nebraska has recently won high honors in oratory at Yale University. In regard to the "mescal eating" among the Winnebagoes, those in Nebraska sent (in the summer of 1908) a delegation of about one hundred persons to Wisconsin, to introduce the new religion among their brothers there. They held three or four meetings, and made fifteen or twenty converts; but there was so much opposition to the movement that most persons held back from joining it.

— THOMAS R. RODDY, Black River Falls, Wis.

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This work was approved by the royal censor at Paris in 1702, but was not published until 1716—probably on account of the war between England and France (1701-1713), which only ended with the treaty of Utrecht, and the undesirability of publishing at that time a work regarding Canada, which was in danger of attack by the English. The edition of 1716 is mentioned by only Fevret de Fontette; the next one (1722), the edition best known to bibliographers, was issued at both Paris and Rouen; and a third edition appeared at Amsterdam in 1723. The work was published in four small volumes; it is the second of these, devoted to the history of the Indian tribes who were allies of the French in Canada, which is here presented (for the first time in English translation). A fourth edition was issued in Paris in 1753; a careful comparison shows that this is an exact reproduction of the 1722 edition, save for a few unimportant variations, chiefly in the color of the ink used on the title-pages. It is a curious fact that La Potherie's *Histoire* is not mentioned in the *Mémoires de Trevoux*, a publication of that period which aimed to record the names of all printed books relating to America. This information is chiefly obtained from the interesting paper of J. Edmond Roy on La Potherie and his works, in *Proceedings and Transactions* of the Royal Society of Canada, series ii, vol. iii, 27-41—in which the reader will find fuller bibliographical details, and a brief synopsis of the *Histoire*.

It is of interest to note the gradual increase in the prices quoted by booksellers for this work. An early issue (undated) of Dufossé's *Americana* prices the *Histoire* (no. 13857) at twenty-five francs for edition of 1753; and later (no. 62174), at thirty-five francs, edition of 1722; while in his "new series" that of 1753, it is quoted at forty francs (nos. 15851 and 17181). In Chadenat's *Catalogues* may be noted the following: *Catalogue* 11 (1893), no. 11457, edition 1722, 40 francs; the same in *Catalogue* 22 (1898), no. 21991, edition "1722 or 1753;" for the same edition, in *Catalogue* 26 (1900), no. 26414, 50 francs (and in same catalogue the same price for the Amsterdam edition of 1723); in *Catalogue* 29 (1902), no. 29697, edition of 1722 (Paris, Nyon et Didot; "original edition of this very rare work"), 80 francs; the same price for the Amsterdam edition, in *Catalogue* 33 (1904), no. 34394; while in *Catalogue* 41 (1908), no. 44096, and *Catalogue* 44 (1910), no. 48816, the price is quoted at 125 francs.

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For prices on the *Mémoire*, the catalogues of the French booksellers should be consulted, as it is seldom offered by those in the United States. In Dufossé's *Bulletin de Bouquiniste* this book appears occasionally: no. 15180, at 12 francs; no. 36982, at 10 francs; and no. 60896, at 7.50 francs. Chadenat quoted it higher: from 10 to 12 francs in the years since 1890; and reaches 15 francs in *Catalogue* 43 (1909), no. 48011; while in two of his *Catalogues*—23 (1899), no. 23659; and 41 (1908), no. 45118—he mentions a copy of the *Mémoire* on large paper, printed from a large format in large quarto size, "a few copies only," quoted at 20 francs. O'Leary in *Catalogue* 11 (1907), quoted at \$2.50 an unbound copy.

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This report on the Indian tribes in the district under Major Morrell's command was prepared by him in November, 1820, at the request of Rev. Dr. Jedidiah Morse, a special agent sent by the government to visit the Indian tribes of the United States and obtain all available information about their condition and needs for the use of the Indian Bureau in its dealings with them. Dr. Morse's report was published in 1822 (see title below), and is a most valuable document for the study of Indian history at that period; but it was long ago out of print, and is practically unknown to the general public. For the present work, the text of Marston's report is obtained not from the printed book, but from a copy of Marston's original Ms. which is preserved in the Draper Collection of the Wisconsin Historical Society; it is document no. 58 in vol. 1 of the Forsyth Papers (pressmark, "1 T 58"). The document is written, apparently by some copyist, on fifteen leaves of paper about foolscap size; the last paragraph and the subscription and signature are in Marston's autograph writing. The list of Indian tribes to which he alludes gives the names of each tribe in English, French, and ten Indian dialects; this paper has been by some oversight bound in the second volume of the Forsyth Papers.

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In *Memoirs of Geol. Survey of Kentucky*, vol. ii.

CARVER, JONATHAN. Travels through the interior parts of North America, 1766-1768 (London, 1778). Illustrated.

An account of travels in the region of the Great Lakes and upper Mississippi River; it obtained great favor with the public, appearing, during some eighty years, in thirty editions and reissues, and in several foreign languages. Some parts of this narrative are plagiarized from Hennepin, Charlevoix, and other early writers, a fact which has caused Carver's veracity, and the genuineness of his account, to be discredited by some critics—even to the extent of supposing him to be illiterate, and incapable of writing such a book. The controversy is summarized by John T. Lee in his "Bibliography of Carver's Travels" (*Proceedings of Wis. Hist. Soc.*, 1909, pp. 143-183); he adduces evidence to show that Carver must have been the author of the *Travels*, and a man of respectable character and education.

CASEY, M. P. Indian contract schools.

In *Catholic World*, Aug., 1900.

CASS, LEWIS. Considerations on the present state of the Indians, and their removal to the west of the Mississippi.

— Remarks on the policy and practice of the United States and Great Britain in their treatment of the Indians.

These articles appeared in the *North Amer. Review*, January, 1830, and April, 1827, respectively.

CATLIN, GEORGE. Illustrations of the manners, customs, and condition of the North American Indians, with letters and notes written during eight years of travel and adventure, tenth edition (London, 1866). 2 vols. Illustrated.

A work of prime importance, especially as it shows the Indian tribes of the west and south at a time (1832-1838) when they still retained much of their primitive mode of life. Catlin relates his adventures while traveling among them, and adds a wealth of information on their customs, character, beliefs, etc.—which are illustrated by three hundred and sixty drawings from his original paintings.

— Adventures of the Ojibbeway and Ioway Indians in England, France, and Belgium, third edition (London, 1852). 2 vols. in 1. Illustrated.

Catlin's "notes of eight years' travels and residence in Europe with his

North American Indian collection"—which contained nearly six hundred paintings, made by Catlin during eight years' residence among the Indian tribes; and included, besides many portraits, pictures of scenery, Indian villages, customs, games, religious ceremonies, etc., all from life; a catalogue of these appears at end of his vol. 1. Catlin also exhibited in Europe many Indian curios—robes, weapons, ornaments, pipes, cradles, etc. During 1845-1846, he acted as interpreter and guide for some Indians (thirty-five in all) who had been carried to Europe for the purpose of public exhibition; and here he describes their novel experiences and the traits of character they displayed, this last being the chief value of his book.

CATON, J. D. The last of the Illinois, and a sketch of the Pottowatomies (Chicago, 1876).

No. 3 of *Fergus Historical Series*.

CHAMBERLAIN, ALEXANDER F. The contributions of the American Indian to civilization (Worcester, 1904).

In *Proceedings of Amer. Antiquarian Society*, vol. xvi, 91-126.

CHARLEVOIX, PIERRE F. X. DE. Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle France, avec le Journal Historique d'un voyage fait par ordre du roi dans l'Amérique Septentrionale (Paris, 1744). 3 vols.

A standard authority on early Canadian history, description of New France, and account of the Indian tribes therein. A translation of this valuable work was made by John G. Shea, with many excellent and scholarly annotations; published in six volumes (New York, 1866-1872). A reprint of Shea's edition appeared in New York, 1900, edited by Noah F. Morrison.

CHASE, LEVI B. Early Indian trails (Worcester, 1897).

In *Collections of Worcester Society of Antiquities*, vol. xiv, 105-125.

CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collection of documents relating to the early history of Illinois. Ms.

A very large and valuable collection of documents (most of them originals) relating to the history of the northwest territory, and chiefly of Illinois. Notable among these are the papers of Gen. Henry Dearborn, Gov. Ninian Edwards, John Kinzie, and Pierre Ménard (the last two, noted Indian traders); and the transcripts from early records of Kaskaskia and Fort Chartres churches. Some of the Edwards papers were published in vol. iii (1884) of the *Collections* of this society.

CHIPPEWA ALLOTMENTS of lands, and timber contracts (Washington, 1889).

*Senate Docs.*, Report no. 2710, 50th congress, second session. Report of "Select Committee on Indian Traders," containing evidence, documents, etc., proving gross mismanagement, abuses, and spoliation in the affairs of the Chippewa reservations in Wisconsin and Minnesota.

CHOUTEAU, AUGUSTE. Papers and correspondence, 1787-1819. Ms.

Chouteau was probably the most enterprising and influential of the pioneer fur-traders in the Missouri River Valley, and closely connected with the founding of St. Louis, of which event he left a manuscript account. The documents here mentioned are in the possession of the Mercantile Library, St. Louis.

CHRISTIAN JOURNAL, 1817-1830. 14 vols.

Edited by Bishop J. H. Hobart, and contains numerous papers relating to the Oneida Indians of Wisconsin.

CLARK, GEORGE ROGERS. Letters, journals, etc., 1760-1859. Ms. 65 vols.

This highly valuable collection of manuscripts is in the possession of the Wisconsin State Historical Society; it includes many early original documents, various subsidiary collections of papers, and a great deal of correspondence between L. C. Draper and the descendants of the Western pioneers. Much of this matter relates to Clark's conquest of Illinois (1778), and his campaigns, soon afterward, to St. Louis and in the Wabash country. A selection from these papers is announced for this year (1911), in three volumes, edited by Prof. J. A. James of Northwestern University.

CLARK, W. P. The Indian sign language (Philadelphia, 1885).

The author, an army officer, spent over six years among the Indian tribes, and acquired at first-hand the sign language and the explanations of it made by the Indians themselves. To these he adds much valuable information regarding their customs, beliefs, superstitions, modes of life, etc.; and he writes in a spirit of appreciation for the abilities and good traits of those Indians who have not been demoralized by contact with the whites. He makes interesting comparisons between the Indian sign language and that taught in schools for deaf-mutes. The book contains a map showing the Indian reservations, etc.

CLARK, WILLIAM. Papers. Ms. 29 vols.

This collection of documents contains the records of Clark and his successors in the office of superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis. It is in the possession of the Kansas Historical Society.

CLARKE, PETER DOOYENTATE. Origin and traditional history of the Wyandotts, etc., (Toronto, 1870).

In this little volume are collected the traditions of Wyandott (Huron) tribal history and legend, obtained from the few surviving ancients of that people by the author (himself a Wyandott); and much of this material is apparently not to be found elsewhere.

COLDEN, CADWALLADER. The history of the five Indian nations depending on the province of New York (New York, 1727).

The above title refers only to Part I of Colden's work. It was reprinted, but in a garbled form, in London, 1747 and 1750—containing, however, Part II, of which a Ms. copy is preserved in the collections of the N.Y. State Historical Society. The book was reprinted (1866) by J. G. Shea.

COLESON, A. Narrative of her captivity among the Sioux Indians (Philadelphia, 1864).

COLTON, C. Tour of the American lakes, and among the Indians of the Northwest Territory, in 1830 (London, 1833). 2 vols.

[CONDITION of Indian tribes in Montana and Dakota (Washington, 1884).]

*Senate Report*, no. 283, 48th congress, first session. Report of a "Select Committee to examine into the condition of the Sioux and Crow Indians." Shows the destitution then prevailing among those tribes, and calls for government aid to them; also scores the management of the agency stores.

CONDITION OF THE INDIAN TRIBES: report of the Joint Special Committee appointed under joint resolution of March 3, 1865 (Washington, 1867).

This report and its documentary appendix constitute a full survey of the status of the Indian tribes at that time. The committee (J. R. Doolittle, chairman) stated that the Indian population was rapidly decreasing, mainly through disease, vicious habits, and the loss of their old-time hunting grounds—all these causes being in large measure traceable to the encroachments, bad influence, and whiskey of the whites. The committee recommended that the Indian Bureau be retained in the Department of the Interior; and that more efficient government control and inspection be provided for Indian affairs.

CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DES AMÉRICANISTES. Comptes rendus, sessions 1-16. 1875-1910. Illustrated.

The sessions of this learned body have been held biennially at various places since 1875 (at Nancy), the last one whose proceedings are yet published being at Vienna (1908). These volumes contain many articles relating to the Indian tribes of the central United States. Among these may be noted: Various articles on the mound-builders (second session, Luxemburg); Algic cosmogony (third session, Brussels); "sacred hunts" of the Indians (eighth session, Paris); "Contributions of American archæology to human history" (fourteenth session, Stuttgart); two papers on the Indians of the Mississippi, and one on customs and rites of the Iowa Foxes (fifteenth session, Quebec); "Types of dwellings and their distribution in Central North America" (sixteenth session, Vienna). The seventeenth session was held at Mexico City, September, 1910.

COPWAY, GEORGE. The traditional history and characteristic sketches of the Ojibway nation (London, 1850; Boston, 1851). Illustrated.

The author (an Ojibwa chief, his Indian name Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh) states that he has resided "six years among the pale-faces," and has attended school, twenty months in all, in Illinois. He recounts the traditions and legends of his people, describes their customs, beliefs, character, etc.; and shows their condition under British and American domination.

COPWAY, GEORGE. The organization of an Indian territory east of the Missouri River (New York, 1850).

Copway urged Congress to erect a new Indian Territory, which should improve upon the old one by being set aside for northern bands only, and by providing at the outset for Indian self-government.

CORRESPONDENCE on the subject of the emigration of Indians, 1831-1833 (Washington, 1834). 5 vols.

This is found in *Senate Documents*, vols. vii-xi, 23rd congress, first session (1833-1834).

COUES, ELLIOTT. The fur-bearing animals of North America (Boston, 1877).

CULIN, STEWART. American Indian games (Washington, 1905). Illustrated.

In *Report of Bureau Amer. Ethnology*, 1902-1903.

CURTIS, EDWARD S. The North American Indian (New York, 1907—). 20 vols., each accompanied by a portfolio of supplementary plates.

This magnificent work (first begun in 1898) well carries out the author's aim, to present a true picture of Indian life in its natural surroundings and primitive, homely phases—especially in view of the rapid and often destructive changes therein which are taking place throughout the continent. The illustrations (most of which are 20x24 inches in size) are from photographs made by Curtis during his residence among the various tribes, and they are unusually accurate and artistic. They are accompanied by descriptive text and account of the author's experiences among the Indians, with which is combined much historical and ethnological information. He also records many Indian myths, related to him by the elders of the tribes, and much about their rites and ceremonies. The work is an interesting revelation of Indian life and character.

CURTIS, NATALIE, editor. The Indians' book; an offering by the American Indians of Indian lore, musical and narrative, to form a record of the songs and legends of their race (New York and London, 1907). Illustrated, chiefly from drawings made by Indians.

Contains Indian songs, with original native music and words, English translation, and explanatory notes; some twenty tribes are thus represented, of whom the Winnebago and Dakota (and indirectly the Abenaki) belong to the subject of the present work. A valuable contribution to the literature of the Indians' higher life.

[CUTLER, JERVIS.] A topographical description of the state of Ohio, Indiana Territory, and Louisiana (Boston, 1812).

"Comprehending the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, and their principal tributary streams; the face of the country . . . and a concise account of the Indian tribes west of the Mississippi." By a U.S. army officer.

DAVIDSON, ALEXANDER, and Bernard Stuvé. A complete history of Illinois, 1673-1873 (Springfield, Ill., 1874).

DAVIDSON, J. N. In unnamed Wisconsin: studies in the history of the region between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi (Milwaukee, 1895).

DAVIS, ANDREW M. Indian games.

In *Bulletin of Essex Institute*, vol. xvii, 89-144.

DELLENBAUGH, FREDERICK S. The North-Americans of yesterday: a comparative study of North-American Indian life, customs, and products, on the theory of the ethnic unity of the race (New York, 1901). Illustrated.

A valuable and scholarly work, presenting the results of recent research in the languages, industries, mode of life, customs, beliefs, government, history, etc., of the North American tribes; contains a list of these, with the respective stocks to which they belong. Both text and the numerous fine illustrations are based largely on material in the Bureau of American Ethnology.

DENSMORE, FRANCES. Chippewa music (Washington, 1910). Illustrated.

A collection of songs, both ritual and social, in all numbering two hundred; the Indian words and English translation, with music, and full description of rites, customs, etc. This is *Bulletin* 45 of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

DILLON, JOHN B. Decline of the Miami nation.

In *Publications of Indiana Historical Society*, vol. i, 121-143.

DODGE, CHARLES R. A descriptive catalogue of useful fiber plants of the world, including the structural and economic classifications of fibers (Washington, 1897).

Published by U.S. Department of Agriculture.

DODGE, RICHARD IRVING. Our wild Indians: thirty-three years' personal experience among the red men of the Great West (Hartford, Conn., 1883). Illustrated.

An interesting record of Indian customs and character, by an army officer; highly commended by his superior, Gen. W. T. Sherman, who nevertheless dissents from Dodge's estimate of Indian character. The author advocates military rather than civilian control for the tribes.

DOMINION OF CANADA. Report concerning Canadian archives (Ottawa, 1872-1910+).

These reports contain many calendars of documents contained in the Dominion archives, and are indispensable to the student of Canadian history. Many of those documents relate to Indian affairs.

DONALDSON, THOMAS. The George Catlin Indian gallery in the United States National Museum; with memoir and statistics (Washington, 1885). Illustrated.

In *Report of Smithsonian Institution*, 1885, part ii. A catalogue of the paintings and curios in the great Catlin collection, which was transferred to the Smithsonian Institution, 1879-1881. The pictures are arranged under the tribal names, each accompanied by extracts (narrative or descriptive) from Catlin's own books, an outline drawing from the same source, and much additional information furnished by Donaldson as editor.

— The Six Nations of New York (Washington, 1892). Illustrated.

An *Extra Bulletin*, Eleventh Census of the U.S. A valuable account of the Iroquois people in modern times, presenting not only statistics of population and property, but observations on their character, government, social conditions, mode of life, etc. Well illustrated with maps, portraits, etc.

DORMAN, RUSHTON M. The origin of primitive superstitions, and their development into the worship of spirits, and the doctrine of spiritual agency, among the aborigines of America (Philadelphia, 1881).

DORSEY, J. OWEN. Migrations of Siouan tribes.

In *Amer. Naturalist*, vol. xx, 211-222.

— [Papers on "Omaha sociology," "Siouan sociology," "A study of Siouan cults."]

In *Reports of Bureau of Amer. Ethnology*: 1881-1882, pp. 311-370; 1893-1894, pp. 205-244; 1889-1890, pp. xliii-xlvii, 351-544, respectively.

DRAKE, BENJAMIN. Life of Tecumseh, and of his brother the Prophet, with a historical sketch of the Shawanoe Indians (Cincinnati, 1841).

A plain narrative, based on letters written by Gen. Harrison to the War Department in 1809-1813, interviews with old pioneers, etc. Another edition was issued in 1852.

DRAKE, FRANCIS S. The Indian tribes of the United States (Philadelphia, 1884). 2 vols. Illustrated.

DRAKE, SAMUEL G. Biography and history of the Indians of North America (Boston, 1832). Illustrated.

A popular work, but compiled from the best authorities of Drake's time. Other titles, used in some editions, were: "The book of the Indians," and "Aboriginal races of North America." Later editions contain many additions and corrections. A revision of the fifteenth (Phila., 1860) was issued in 1880 (New York).

DUNN, JACOB P. *Indiana, a redemption from slavery* (Boston, 1904).

In *Amer. Commonwealths* series. This is a new and enlarged edition of his book first published in 1888. The author is secretary of the Indiana Historical Society, and a trained and careful investigator.

— True Indian stories, with glossary of Indiana Indian names (Indianapolis, 1908).

Narratives of military and other events in early Indiana history, relating to the Indians, and accounts of their leading chiefs.

EASTMAN, CHARLES A. *Indian boyhood* (New York, 1902). Illustrated.

An interesting picture of Indian boys' life, as it records the experiences and impressions of the writer (a Sioux Indian) in boyhood and early youth.

— *The soul of the Indian: an interpretation* (Boston, 1911).

The author, writing as an Indian, aims "to paint the religious life of the typical American Indian as it was before he knew the white man." A valuable contribution to our data for a real understanding of the Indian character.

EASTMAN, CHARLES A. (Ohiyesa) and Elaine Goodale. *Sioux folk tales retold* (Boston, 1909). Illustrated.

EASTMAN, MARY H. *The American aboriginal portfolio* (Philadelphia, [1853]). Illustrated.

Descriptive sketches of Indian life and customs, accompanied by handsome steel engravings from drawings by Capt. S. Eastman, U.S.A. (apparently the same plates as those in Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes*).

— *Chicóra, and other regions of the conquerors and the conquered* (Philadelphia, 1854). Illustrated.

Sketches of Indian life, beliefs, etc.

— *Dahcotah, or, life and legends of the Sioux around Fort Snelling* (New York, 1849). Illustrated.

Written from intimate knowledge and direct observation of the Sioux Indians, who related many of their legends to the author (whose father and husband were army officers in the Northwest).

EDWARDS, NINIAN W. *History of Illinois from 1778 to 1833, and life and times of Ninian Edwards* (Springfield, Ill., 1870).

Contains full account of the Black Hawk War, and many letters from high officials to Gov. Edwards.

EGGLESTON, EDWARD, and L. E. Seelye. *Tecumseh and the Shawnee prophet* (New York, 1878). Illustrated.

Also includes sketches of Indian chiefs and American officers famous in

the frontier wars of Tecumseh's time. A popular narrative, but based on reliable authorities.

ELLIS, GEORGE E. The red man and the white man in North America (Boston, 1882).

Discusses traits of character of the Indians, their relations with the white people, missions, our policy toward the red men, their capacity for civilization, etc.

EMERSON, ELLEN RUSSELL. Indian myths, or legends, traditions, and symbols of the aborigines of America compared with those of other countries (Boston, 1884). Illustrated.

A valuable work, showing much research and learning.

EVARTS, JEREMIAH. Essays on the present crisis in the condition of the American Indians (Boston, 1829).

"These essays, twenty-four in number, were first published in the *National Intelligencer* under the pseudonym of 'William Penn.' They constitute a very fine exposition of the wrongs committed against the Indians and bear few traces of having been written from the absolutely missionary point of view." — ABEL.

—, editor. Speeches on the passage of the bill for the removal of the Indians, delivered in the Congress of the United States, April-May, 1830 (Boston, 1830).

FARRAND, LIVINGSTON. Basis of American history, 1500-1900 (New York, 1904). Illustrated.

This is volume II of *The American Nation: a history* (Albert B. Hart, editor).

FEATHERSTONHAUGH, G. W. A canoe voyage up the Minnay Sotor (London, 1847). 2 vols.

FIELD COLUMBIAN MUSEUM. Publications: anthropological series (Chicago, 1895-1905). Vols. i-ix.

FIELD, THOMAS W. An essay towards an Indian bibliography, being a catalogue of books relating to the history, antiquities, languages, customs, religion, war, literature, and origin of the American Indians, in the library of Thomas W. Field (New York, 1873).

FILLMORE, JOHN C. The harmonic structure of Indian music.

In *Amer. Anthropologist*, new series, vol. i, 297-318. The author was a professional musician, of long experience and fine taste.

— A study of Omaha Indian music . . . with a report on the structural peculiarities of the music (Cambridge, 1893).

This paper, with another on Omaha music by Alice C. Fletcher, appeared in *Archæological and Ethnological Papers* of Peabody Museum, vol. i, no. 5.

- FINLEY, JAMES B. *Life among the Indians; or, personal reminiscences and historical incidents illustrative of Indian life and character* (Cincinnati, 1868).

Written by a Methodist missionary among the Indians, chiefly the Wyandotts; contains much regarding the history of this tribe and others in their relations with the whites, from 1800 on.

- *History of the Wyandott mission at Upper Sandusky, Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1840).

- FLETCHER, ALICE C. *A study of the Omaha tribe: the import of the totem.*

In *Report of Smithsonian Institution*, 1897, pp. 577-586.

- *Indian education and civilization* (Washington, 1888).

Published in *Ex. Docs.* no. 95, 48th congress, second session. A special report from the Bureau of Education; reviews missionary and educational work among the Indians from the earliest of such enterprises to the time of this report; gives abstracts of treaties with the tribe, and description, statistics, and other valuable data for each of the Indian reservations. A condensed and excellent book of reference for the subject.

- *Indian song and story from North America* (Boston, 1900).

"Contains the music of the ghost, love, and other songs in the Omaha language." Miss Fletcher has made a specialty of Indian music, and has spent many years in the study of some of the plains tribes.

- FORSYTH, THOMAS. *Letter-books, memoirs, etc., 1804-1833.* Ms. 9 vols.

These papers and books are in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society. They are all original documents (save two letter-books, which are transcripts from the originals), and concern the affairs of Forsyth's agency at Rock Island (1812-1830), the fur-trade, and the Indian tribes of that region; they include many letters from William Clark and Gov. Ninian Edwards, and much official correspondence, besides the two memoirs (by Forsyth and Marston) reproduced in the present volume.

- FOWKE, GERARD. *Archæological history of Ohio: the mound-builders and later Indians* (Columbus, 1902).

- *Stone art* (Washington, 1896).

In *Report of Bureau of Amer. Ethnology*, 1891-1892, pp. 47-178.

- FRAZER, J. G. *Totemism* (Edinburgh, 1887).

- FROBENIUS, LEO. *The childhood of man: a popular account of the lives, customs, and thoughts of the primitive races* (Philadelphia, 1909). Illustrated.

Based on the latest authorities, and shows extensive research. This edition is a translation from the German by the well-known ethnographer, A. H. Keane.

FULTON, A. R. The red men of Iowa (Des Moines, Ia., 1882). Illustrated.

A history of the Indian tribes who resided in Iowa; sketches of chiefs; traditions, etc.; a general account of the Indian tribes and wars of the Northwest; etc. The material was obtained from writings of local historians, interviews with pioneers, etc.

GALE, GEORGE. The Upper Mississippi: or historical sketches of the mound-builders, the Indian tribes, and the progress of civilization in the Northwest; from A.D. 1600 to the present time (Chicago, 1867).

GALLATIN, ALBERT. A synopsis of the Indian tribes of North America.

In *Transactions and Collections* of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, 1838, vol. ii.

GANNETT, HENRY. A gazetteer of Indian Territory (Washington, 1905).

Issued as *Bulletin*, no. 248 of the U.S. Geological Survey.

GARLAND, HAMLIN. The red men's present needs.

In *North American Review*, April, 1902.

GERARD, W. R. Plant names of Indian origin (New York, 1896).

In *Garden and Forest*, vol. ix.

GREEN BAY AND PRAIRIE DU CHIEN PAPERS. Ms. 99 vols.

Of similar character to the "Grignon, Lawe, and Porlier Papers," except that they relate to the regions of both Green Bay and Prairie du Chien. They were obtained from the estates of Morgan L. Martin, Green Bay (one of the most prominent among the early American pioneers in Wisconsin), and Hercules L. Dousman, of Prairie du Chien, a leading fur-trader (for some years a representative of the American Fur Company). This collection is in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

GRIFFIN, A. P. C. List of references on the relations of the Indians to the U.S. government (Washington, 1902). Ms.

In library of Wisconsin State Historical Society.

GRIGNON, LAWE, and Porlier Papers, 1712-1873. Ms. 65 vols.

This collection, consisting of letters, accounts, legal documents, etc., which had accumulated for a century and a half in the possession of the families bearing the above names, who were the chief factors in the fur-trade that centered in or passed through Green Bay, Wis., is now in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society. "A miscellaneous and highly valuable collection of letters, and varied documents both in French and English—social, commercial, ecclesiastical, political, and military—throwing a flood of light on the early history of the region ranging from Mackinac to the upper Mississippi, and between Lake Superior and the Illinois country."—THWAITES.

GARNEAU, F. X. *Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours* (Montréal, 1882).

The above is the fourth edition. An English translation, annotated, was published by Andrew Bell, third edition (Montreal, 1866).

HADDON, ALFRED C. *The study of man* (New York, 1898). Illustrated.

Treats of measurements and head-form in anthropology, the origin of some primitive vehicles, and the sources of various games and other amusements.

HAILMANN, WILLIAM N. *Education of the Indian* (St. Louis, 1904).

No. 19 of *Monographs on Education in U.S.*, issued by the educational department of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

HAINES, ELIJAH M. *The American Indian* (Chicago, 1888). Illustrated.

A popular cyclopedia of Indian ethnology; includes also chapters on relations between the red men and the whites, the history of the "Order of Red Men," Indian vocabularies, and the meaning of Indian geographical names; is based on the works of standard authorities.

HALE, HORATIO. *Hiawatha and the Iroquois confederation: a study in anthropology* (Salem, 1881).

— Indian migrations as evidenced by language, comprising the Huron-Cherokee, Dakota, and other stocks (Chicago, 1883).

—, editor. *The Iroquois Book of Rites* (Philadelphia, 1883).

From Ms. records made by the Indians themselves, containing the rituals used in their council meetings; Hale (who was an accomplished linguist and ethnologist) copied and translated, with the assistance of the most learned Iroquois chiefs, these rituals — to which he has added glossary, annotations, etc., and a critical introduction describing the organization, government and laws, traditions, character, policy, and language of the Iroquois peoples.

HARRISON, J. B. *The latest studies on Indian reservations* (Philadelphia, 1887).

Published by the Indian Rights Association.

HARRISON, WILLIAM H. *Aborigines of the Ohio Valley* (Chicago, 1884).

No. 26 of *Fergus Hist. Series*. This book also contains speeches by Miami chiefs in a council at Ft. Wayne, Sept. 4, 1811; and an account (from a Ms.) of the history, customs, etc., of the Northwestern Indians.

HARSHBERGER, J. W. *Maize: a botanical and economic study* (Philadelphia, 1893).

*Contributions of Botanical Laboratory of Univ. Pennsylvania*, vol. i, no. 2.

HARVEY, HENRY. History of the Shawnee Indians, from the year 1681 to 1854, inclusive (Cincinnati, 1855).

The author was sent by the Society of Friends as a missionary among the Shawnees, and was with that tribe when they were obliged to surrender their homes and lands in Ohio (1832).

HEARD, ISAAC V. D. History of the Sioux war and massacres of 1862 and 1863 (New York, 1865). . Illustrated.

Written by a member of Sibley's expedition against the Sioux in 1862, from first-hand sources of various kinds.

HEBERD, S. S. History of Wisconsin under the dominion of France (Madison, Wis., 1890).

HENNEPIN, LOUIS. Description de la Louisiane. . . Les mœurs et la maniere de vivre des sauvages (Paris, 1683).

A translation of this work, with annotations, by J. G. Shea, was published at New York in 1880. A reprint of the English edition of 1698, edited by R. G. Thwaites, with numerous annotations, was issued in 1903, at Chicago.

HEWITT, J. N. B. Iroquois cosmogony (Washington, 1903).

In *Report of Bureau of Amer. Ethnology*, 1899-1900.

HODGE, FREDERICK W., editor. Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico: parts 1 and 2 (Washington, 1907 and 1910). Illustrated.

This is *Bulletin* no. 30, Bureau of Amer. Ethnology. This great work — actually begun in 1885, and its central idea conceived in 1873 — forms a most valuable Indian cyclopedia. It has been prepared by the trained specialists of the Bureau, aided by others from the various government bureaus and the great museums of the country; and it represents the latest data and the most reliable conclusions thus far reached by experts in American ethnology and archæology. "It has been the aim," says its editor, "to give a brief description of every linguistic stock, confederacy, tribe, sub-tribe, or tribal subdivision, and settlement known to history or even to tradition, as well as the origin and derivation of every name treated, whenever such is known." These tribal descriptions (including history, location, population, etc.) are followed by full bibliographical references to authorities for each variant of the tribal name. Special subjects, such as "Dreams and visions," "Food," "Pueblos," "War," are fully discussed by expert writers; and biographical sketches of noted Indians are furnished. At the end is a synonymy of all the names and variants mentioned in the articles on tribes; and a full bibliography of printed books and other sources. These occupy respectively one hundred and fifty-eight and forty-three pages of fine type, giving the information in the shortest form possible; and both these features will be prized for reference by students.

HOFFMAN, WALTER J. The Menomini Indians (Washington, 1896). Illustrated.

A valuable monograph on that tribe, written by a careful and trained ethnologist; he treats, with much detail, their history, government, cult societies, myths, and folk-tales, games and dances, dwellings and furniture, industries and occupations, food, etc. An extensive vocabulary of their language is added at the close. In the fourteenth *Report* of Bureau of Amer. Ethnology.

HOFFMAN, WALTER J. The Midē'wiwin or "grand medicine society" of the Ojibwa (Washington, 1891).

In *Report* of Bureau of Amer. Ethnology, 1885-1886, pp. 149-300. This paper is of special interest as describing the proceedings and ceremonies of an Indian secret society.

HOLMES, W. H. Aboriginal pottery of the eastern United States (Washington, 1903).

In *Report* of Bureau of Amer. Ethnology, 1898-1899. Other archæological papers by Holmes concerning the field of this work are published in the second, third, fourth, sixth, and thirteenth of the Bureau's *Reports*.

— Sacred pipestone quarries of Minnesota, and ancient copper mines of Lake Superior.

In *Proceedings* of Amer. Assoc. for Advancement of Science, 1892, pp. 277-279.

—, and others. Arrows and arrow-makers: a symposium.

In *Amer. Anthropologist*, vol. iv, 45-74.

HORNADAY, WILLIAM F. The extermination of the American bison, with a sketch of its discovery and life history.

In *Report* of Smithsonian Institution, 1887, part ii, pp. 367-548.

HOUGH, FRANKLIN B., editor. Proceedings of the commissioners of Indian affairs, appointed by law for the extinguishment of Indian titles in the state of New York (Albany, 1861).

"Published from the original manuscript in the library of the Albany Institute."

HOUGH, WALTER. Fire-making apparatus in the United States National Museum (Washington, 1890).

In *Report* U.S. National Museum, 1888.

HOY, P. R. How and by whom were the copper implements made? (Racine, 1886).

HULBERT, ARCHER B. The historic highways of America (Cleveland, 1902-1903). 16 vols. Illustrated.

This series undertakes to show the intimate connection of America's history and development with the highways and waterways which connected the seaboard with the vast interior of this continent — traced successively by herds of buffalo, by Indian trade and migration, and by white pioneers,

and followed in later years by the great transcontinental railroads. The following volumes are those of special interest for students of Indian history: I, "Paths of the mound-buildings Indians and great game animals;" II, "Indian thoroughfares;" and VII, "Portage paths: the keys to the continent."

HUNTER, JOHN DUNN. Manners and customs of several Indian tribes located west of the Mississippi (Philadelphia, 1823).

Contains biographical sketch of the author, and account of his captivity among the Kickapoo Indians; description of Missouri and Arkansas territories, and their products; account of customs, mode of life, industries, character, etc., of Indians therein; and chapters on their materia medica, and practice of surgery and medicine.

— The Indian sketch-book (Cincinnati, 1852).

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY. Collections (Springfield, 1906-1910+). Illustrated.

These publications contain valuable original documents relating to the early history of Illinois, ably edited by experienced and scholarly investigators. The "Virginia Series" is useful for readers interested in the French element of Illinois history, and in the Indians; it includes "Cahokia records, 1778-1790," "Kaskaskia records" (for the same period), and "George Rogers Clark papers" — the last to be published (1911) in three volumes.

ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Transactions (Springfield, 1901-1910+).

— Journal (Springfield, 1908-1911+).

INDIAN AFFAIRS. Report on the fur trade (Washington, 1828).

In Senate Committee *Reports*, 20th congress, second session.

— Information in relation to the Superintendency of Indiana Affairs in the Territory of Michigan, 1820-1821 (Washington, 1822).

Contains accounts of Lewis Cass as superintendent, letters by him relating to the Indian tribes, etc.

INDIAN AFFAIRS, OFFICE OF (War Department). Reports (Washington, 1825-1848).

— (Department of the Interior). Report of the Commissioner (Washington, 1849-1910+).

Both these series constitute an official record of Indian affairs, of prime value.

— Records. Ms.

These date from 1800 only, as in that year the earlier records were destroyed by fire; and since then various injuries and losses have occurred through removals, lack of proper facilities for their care, etc. Still, they constitute the most important materials extant for study of Indian history and affairs — in which much aid is rendered by the description of these rec-

ords contained in Van Tyne and Leland's *Guide to the Archives*, second edition (Washington, 1908), pp. 205-209.

INDIAN BIOGRAPHY. [Chronological list of famous American Indians, with biographies.]

In *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, index vol., p. 169.

INDIAN BOARD for the emigration, preservation, and improvement of the aborigines of America. Documents and proceedings relating to the formation and progress of a board [for the purpose above stated], (New York, 1829).

INDIAN COMMISSIONERS, BOARD OF. Annual reports (Washington, 1870-1910+).

— Journal of the second annual conference with the representatives of the religious societies coöperating with the government, and reports of their work among the Indians (Washington, 1873).

INDIANS, LAWS RELATING TO. Laws of the colonial and state governments, relating to Indians and Indian affairs, 1633-1831 (Washington, 1832).

— A compilation from the revised statutes of the United States; and acts of Congress . . . relating to Indian affairs, not embraced in or repealed by the revision of the United States statutes (Washington, 1875).

[INDIAN POLICY of the Government. Various articles in reviews and magazines, 1874-1882.]

In *Presbyterian Quarterly and Princeton Review*, July, 1875, Jan. and Oct., 1876; *Catholic World*, Oct. and Nov., 1877, Oct., 1881; *Methodist Quarterly Review*, July, 1877; *Nation*, July 20, 1876, Sept. 6, 1877, July 4 and Nov. 28, 1878, June 30, 1881; *North Amer. Review*, March, 1879, July, 1881, March, 1882; *Penn. Monthly*, March, 1879, Oct., 1880; *International Review*, June, 1879; *Harper's Magazine*, April, 1878, April, 1881; *Catholic Presbyterian*, April, 1881, Feb., 1882; *Amer. Law Review*, Jan., 1881; *Amer. Catholic Quarterly*, July, 1881. These are papers by able writers, on Pres. Grant's policy, the legal status of the Indians, their education at Hampton and Carlisle, and the "Indian problem" in general.

INDIAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION. Annual report of the executive committee (Philadelphia, 1883-1911+).

— Publications (Philadelphia, 1893-1909). 59 pamphlets.

Besides these, the Association has published other pamphlets, of occasional character.

INDIAN TERRITORY, GENERAL COUNCIL. Journal of annual session, 1873 (Lawrence, Kans., 1873).

This council, the fourth of its kind, sat during May 5-15, 1873; it was

"composed of delegates duly elected from the Indian tribes legally resident" in Indian Territory.

INDIAN TREATIES, and laws and regulations relating to Indian affairs. Washington, 1826.

Compiled by order of Secretary of War Calhoun, who ordered one hundred and fifty copies to be "printed for the use of the Department." Contains also a supplementary collection of treaties and other documents relative to Indian affairs, "to the end of the Twenty-first Congress" (i.e., to February, 1831).

— Treaties between the United States of America and the several Indian tribes, from 1778 to 1837 (Washington, 1837).

Published by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Under an alphabetical list of the tribes is a tabular enumeration of the treaties, with concise abstract of the provisions in each. This is followed by the full texts of the treaties, in chronological order. Some of the minor treaties can be found only here.

— A compilation of all the treaties between the United States and the Indian tribes now in force as laws (Washington, 1873).

— Indian affairs: laws and treaties (Washington, 1903, 1904).

First edition, *Senate Document*, no. 452, 57th congress, first session; second edition, *Senate document*, no. 319, 58th congress, second session.

INGERSOLL, ERNEST. Wampum and its history (Philadelphia, 1883).

In *Amer. Naturalist*, vol. xvii, 467-479.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICANISTS. [See Congrès Internationale des Americanistes.]

IOWA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Annals (Iowa City, 1863-1910+). Illustrated.

JAMES, GEORGE WHARTON. Indian basketry (New York, 1901; Pasadena, Cal., 1902). Illustrated.

— What the white race may learn from the Indian (Chicago, 1908). Illustrated.

Valuable as calling attention, in vigorous and interesting style, to various admirable features in the mode of life, and the social, mental, and moral traits, of the Indian peoples. The author knows the Indians well from personal acquaintance and extensive observation, and well advocates the thesis stated in the title of his book.

JENKS, ALBERT E. The childhood of Ji-shib, the Ojibwa and . . . pen sketches (Madison, Wis., 1900).

JESUIT RELATIONS (Paris, 1640-1672; Quebec, 1869 [3 vols.]; Cleveland, 1896-1901 [73 vols.]).

The annual reports sent by the Jesuit missionaries among the Indians

to their superiors in France; the original publications are rare and costly. The Quebec reprint was published by the Canadian government. The Cleveland reissue (edited by Reuben G. Thwaites and Emma Helen Blair), entitled *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, added to the original *Relations* many later ones, with letters and other documents written by the Jesuit missionaries; also portraits, maps, and other illustrations — the whole accompanied by a page-to-page English translation and copious annotations, bibliographical data, etc. These missionary reports have always been accepted as authorities of the first importance, on all matters relating to the Indians from Labrador to Minnesota, and from Hudson's Bay to the Ohio River; and they are especially valuable because they show, depicted by educated men, aboriginal life and character in their primitive conditions, as yet untouched or but slightly affected by contact with Europeans.

**JOHNSON, ELIAS.** Legends, traditions, and laws of the Iroquois, or Six Nations, and history of the Tuscarora Indians (Lockport, N.Y., 1881).

Written by a Tuscarora chief; although in rather desultory and scrappy form, contains considerable information of value.

**JONES, REV. PETER.** History of the Ojebway Indians; with especial reference to their conversion to Christianity (London [1862?]). Illustrated.

An Ojibwa chief by birth (his Indian name Kahkewàquonàby), and converted to the Christian faith in his youth, the author was a missionary among his people for more than twenty-five years, until his death (June 29, 1856). His account of the Ojibwas is descriptive, historical, and ethnological; and, like Copway's, contains valuable data regarding those tribes, especially authoritative as furnished by Ojibwas of high standing.

**JONES, WILLIAM.** Fox texts (Leyden, 1907).

Contains folk-tales (in history, mythology, tradition, etc.) collected by Jones (himself a Fox Indian) from the elders of his tribe; with English translations. "Among the best records of American folk-lore that are available." This is volume 1 of the *Publications* of the Amer. Ethnological Society of New York. The author, a trained and enthusiastic ethnologist, was slain (while in the prime of manhood) by hostile natives in Luzón, P.I., March 28, 1909.

**KANSAS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.** Transactions (Topeka, 1881-1910+). Vols. i-x. Illustrated.

**KEANE, AUGUSTUS H.** Man past and present (Cambridge, Eng., 1899). Illustrated.

An account of the various races of man, their origin, relations, and development; contains abundant references to the best authorities.

— The world's people: a popular account of their bodily and mental characteristics, beliefs, traditions, and political and social institutions (London, 1908). Illustrated.

KEATING, WILLIAM H. Narrative of an expedition to the sources of the St. Peter's River, Lake Winnepeek, Lake of the Woods, etc., 1823 (Philadelphia, 1824). 2 vols. Illustrated.

This expedition was conducted by Major Stephen H. Long, sent by the War Department to explore the almost unknown wilderness of Northern Minnesota. "One of the earliest and best accounts of the Sioux and Chippeways that we have" (Eames). Volume II contains a comparative vocabulary of the Sauk, Sioux, Chippeway, and Cree languages.

KELTON, DWIGHT H. Indian names of places near the Great Lakes (Detroit, 1888).

KINGSFORD, WILLIAM. The history of Canada. Indexed. (Toronto, 1887-1898). 10 vols.

KINZIE, JULIETTE A. M. Wau-Bun, the "early day of the Northwest" (New York, 1856).

A new edition of this book, with an introduction and notes by R. G. Thwaites, has been published (Chicago, 1901). The author was wife of the noted Chicago early trader, John H. Kinzie; and her book throws much light on early Illinois history and Indian character.

KOHL, J. G. Kitchi-Gami: wanderings round Lake Superior (London, 1860).

"One of the most exhaustive and valuable treatises of Indian life ever written. It is wholly the result of personal experiences. Kohl lived intimately with the Indian tribes round Lake Superior, and endeavored to penetrate the thick veil of distrust, ignorance, and superstition of the tribes with whom he lived." — WILBERFORCE EAMES.

LAFITAU, J. F. Mœurs des sauvages Américains, comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps (Paris, 1724). 2 vols. Illustrated.

A valuable early account of the Indian tribes; one of the standard authorities.

LA FLESCHE, FRANCIS. The middle five; Indian boys at school (Boston, 1900).

A story, drawn from actual experiences and persons, of the (mission) school life of some Omaha boys; written by one of them.

LAHONTAN, ARMAND LOUIS DE. Voyages dans l'Amerique septentrionale (Amsterdam, 1728). 2 vols. Illustrated.

An interesting account of travels in the interior of the North American continent, and of the savage tribes dwelling therein. The English edition of 1703 has been reprinted (Chicago, 1905), edited and annotated by R. G. Thwaites.

LAKE MOHONK [N.Y.] CONFERENCE of Friends of the Indian. Proceedings of first to twenty-seventh annual meetings (Boston, 1883-1910+).

Since the acquisition of insular possessions by the United States, their inhabitants are added to the scope of this conference.

LAPHAM, INCREASE A. The antiquities of Wisconsin, as surveyed and described (Washington, 1885).

In *Contributions to Knowledge* of Smithsonian Institution, vol. vii. Lapham was a pioneer scientist of unusual ability and intellectual breadth.

— A geographical and topographical description of Wisconsin; with brief sketches of its history . . . antiquities (Milwaukee, 1844).

— The number, locality, and times of removal of the Indians of Wisconsin (Milwaukee, 1870).

LARIMER, MRS. S. L. The capture and escape; or, life among the Sioux (Philadelphia, 1870).

LE SUEUR, Pierre, and others. Early voyages up and down the Mississippi by Cavelier, St. Cosme, Le Sueur, Gravier, and Guignas (Albany, N.Y., 1861).

These narratives of early exploration were translated and annotated by J. G. Shea, in the above book.

LEUPP, FRANCIS E. The Indian and his problem (New York, 1910).

Of especial interest, as written by the late commissioner of Indian affairs; he has urged the abolition of the reservation system and of the Indian Office, the Indians to become citizens of the U.S., on the same footing as the whites.

LINCOLN, BENJAMIN. Journal of a treaty held in 1793 with the Indian tribes northwest of the Ohio by commissioners of the United States (Boston, 1836).

In *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, third ser., vol. v, 109-176.

LONG, J. Voyages and travels of an Indian interpreter and trader, describing the manners and customs of the North American Indians (London, 1791).

An early and valued account of the tribes in Canada and the region of the Great Lakes to the Mississippi River. Contains an extensive vocabulary of the Chippewa language, and other linguistic data. The author was in the service of the Hudson Bay Company, and traveled among the Indians for nineteen years. A French translation was published at Paris in 1794, and had another edition in 1810. This important work has been reprinted in Thwaites's *Early Western Travels*, vol. ii.

LUNDY, JOHN P. Zea maize, as it relates to the incipient civilization of Red Men all the world over.

In *Proceedings* of Phila. Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, 1883, pp. 15-22.

McCOY, REV. ISAAC. Correspondence and journals, 1808-1847. Ms.

These documents are in possession of the Kansas Historical Society, and contain much information on "the actual removal of the Indians, especially of the northern tribes after 1830. McCoy surveyed, or superintended the survey, of several of the early reservations in Kansas, and located most of the tribes that went there. The government placed great reliance on him, and his truly kindly disposition toward the emigrants softened the rigor of the Jacksonian measures." — ABEL.

— The annual register of Indian affairs within the Indian (or Western) Territory (Shawanoë Baptist Mission, Ind. Ter., 1835-1837), nos. 1-4.

Contains valuable information about Indian Territory and the tribes settled therein; missions and schools among them, supported by various religious denominations.

— History of Baptist Indian missions (New York, 1840).

Covers the period from 1818; is especially full regarding the Ottawas and Potawatomi.

McGUIRE, JOSEPH D. Pipes and smoking customs of the American aborigines, based on material in the U.S. National Museum.

In *Report* of U.S. National Museum, 1897, part 1, pp. 351-645.

McKENNEY, THOMAS L. Sketches of a tour to the [Great] Lakes, of the character and customs of the Chippeway Indians, and of incidents connected with the treaty of Fond du Lac (Baltimore, 1827). Illustrated.

The author was associated with Lewis Cass in negotiating the above treaty (Aug. 5, 1826), and belonged to the U.S. Indian Department. At the end of the volume are given the text of the treaty, a journal of the proceedings therein, and a Chippewa vocabulary; and the book has numerous illustrations. Gives interesting accounts of Indian life, and descriptions of the Lake region, as they appeared at that time.

— Memoirs, official and personal, with sketches of travels among the Northern and Southern Indians; second edition, 2 vols. in 1 (New York, 1846). Illustrated.

The author was U.S. superintendent of the Indian trade during 1816-1822, and later (1824-1830) chief of the Indian Bureau (the first to hold that post). Volume 1 recounts his experiences in these offices; volume 2 contains his reflections on the origin of the Indians, their claims on us for aid and justice, and a plan for their preservation and "the consolidation of peace between them and us."

— and James Hall. History of the Indian tribes of North Amer-

ica, with biographical sketches and anecdotes of the principal chiefs (Philadelphia, 1854). 3 vols. Illustrated.

A smaller reprint (in royal octavo) from the folio edition of 1848. Contains one hundred and twenty large and well-colored "portraits from the Indian Gallery in the Department of War, at Washington." Revised and enlarged by McKenney, who probably wrote the unsigned historical sketch of the Indian race in volume III; Hall contributed the "Essay on the history of the North American Indians," which follows. It contains one hundred and twenty large colored portraits of Indian chiefs, from the original paintings, mostly by an artist named King, who was employed by the government to paint portraits of the chiefs who visited Washington.

MCKENNEY, THOMAS L. and Matthew Irwin. The fur trade and factory system at Green Bay, 1816-1821.

In Wisconsin *Historical Collections*, vol. vii, 269-288.

MCKENZIE, FAYETTE A. The Indian in relation to the white population of the United States (Columbus, O., 1908).

Reviews the policy of the U.S. government toward the Indians, the political status of the latter, their lands and funds, education, missions, and other topics; contains much useful and recent information as to the advancement and present status of the Indians; and advocates the abolition of the reservation, final allotment of lands, Indian citizenship, provision of better training and opportunities on industrial lines, etc.

MCLAUGHLIN, JAMES. My friend the Indian (Boston, 1910). Illustrated.

The author was Indian agent and inspector for many years.

MCMASTER, JOHN B. A history of the people of the United States, 1783-1861 (New York, 1884-1900). 5 vols.

MAIR, CHARLES. The American bison - its habits, methods of capture and economic use in the northwest, with reference to its threatened extinction and possible preservation.

In *Proceedings and Transactions of Royal Society of Canada*, first ser., vol. viii, sec. 2, pp. 93-108.

MALLERY, GARRICK. Sign language among North American Indians, compared with that among other peoples and deaf-mutes (Washington, 1881). Illustrated.

In Bureau of Amer. Ethnology, first *Report*, 263-552.

— Picture-writing of the American Indians (Washington, 1893). Illustrated.

Bureau of American Ethnology, *Tenth Report*, 25-807.

MANYPENNY, GEORGE W. Our Indian wards (Cincinnati, 1880).

The author was commissioner of Indian affairs during 1853-1857, and

chairman of the Sioux Commission of 1876. He recounts the history of the Indian peoples in their relations with the whites, from the time of the first encounter between the two races; contrasts the military with the civil administration of Indian affairs; and urges that justice, protection, and better industrial opportunities be furnished to these "our wards."

MARGRY, PIERRE. Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale (1614-1754): mémoires et documents originaux (Paris, 1876-1886). 6 vols.

The following volumes are concerned with the northwest: I (1614-1684), explorations and discoveries on the Great Lakes, and the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers; V (1683-1724), formation of a chain of posts between the St. Lawrence and the Gulf of Mexico; VI (1679-1754), exploration of affluents of the Mississippi, and discovery of the Rocky Mountains.

MARSH, REV. CUTTING. Letters and journals, 1830-1856. Ms. 39 vols. and 55 letters.

These documents are deposited with the Wisconsin Historical Society. The author was a missionary of the American Board of Foreign Missions and of a Scottish missionary society, among the Stockbridge Indians of Wisconsin; and his papers relate chiefly to religious and educational matters. Marsh's reports to the Scottish Society for 1831-1848 have been published (nearly in full) in Wisconsin *Historical Collections*, vol. xv, 39-204.

MARTIN, HORACE F. Castorologia, or the history and traditions of the Canadian beaver (Montreal, 1892).

MASON, EDWARD G. Illinois in the 18th century (Chicago, 1881).

No. 12 in *Fergus Historical Series*.

— Early Illinois (Chicago, 1889-1890). In 4 parts.

Nos. 31-34 of *Fergus Historical Series*. Is chiefly devoted to Menard, Todd, and Rocheblave papers.

MASON, OTIS T. Woman's share in primitive culture (New York, 1894). Illustrated.

— The origins of inventions: study of industry among primitive people (London, 1895). Illustrated.

Valuable monographs by this distinguished writer (who was one of the foremost scientists in America, and curator of ethnology in the U.S. National Museum from 1884 until his death in 1908) are noted as follows: "Cradles of the American aborigines" (*Report of Smithsonian Institution*, 1887); "N. American bows, arrows, and quivers" (*id.*, 1893); "Migration and the food quest" (*id.*, 1894); "Influence of environment upon human industries or arts" (*id.*, 1895); "Aboriginal skin-dressing" (*Report of U.S. National Museum*, 1889); "Primitive travel and transportation" (*id.*, 1894); "Aboriginal American basketry" (*id.*, 1902). All these are abundantly illustrated.

MATSON, N. French and Indians of Illinois River (Princeton, Ill., 1874).

From old Mss., local traditions, etc., the author has gleaned interesting data regarding the Indian tribes in Illinois, and the early settlement of that region by the French.

**MATSON, N.** *Memories of Shaubena, with incidents relating to the early settlement of the West* (Chicago, 1878 [second edition in 1880]).

A memoir of this noted Potawatomi chief, based largely on information furnished to the writer by Shaubena himself; contains also much information regarding the "Black Hawk War."

**MICHIGAN PIONEER AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.** *Collections and researches* (Lansing, 1887-1910+). Vols. 1-38. Illustrated.

**MICHILLMACKINAC PARISH.** *Register of baptisms and marriages, 1741-1821.* Ms.

The original of this important register is preserved in the parish church of St. Anne at Mackinac. At the beginning is an abstract of earlier entries dating back to 1695, copied from an old register which is now lost; there are also some records of burials, 1743-1806. A facsimile transcription of the volume is in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society, in whose *Collections* are published a translation of the entire document (vol. xviii, 469-514, and xix, 1-162).

**MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.** *Collections* (St. Paul, 1850-1910+). Vols. i-xiv. Illustrated.

Contain many important papers regarding the Indians of Minnesota. Notable among these are: "Dakota superstitions," G. H. Pond (1867, pp. 32-62); "History of the Ojibways," William W. Warren (of Ojibwa blood), and another account by Edward D. Neill, a scholarly and careful investigator (vol. v, 21-510); "Protestant missions in the Northwest," Stephen R. Riggs (vol. vi, 117-188); "A Sioux story of the war, 1862," Chief Big Eagle (pp. 382-400); "Prehistoric man at the headwaters of the Mississippi River," J. V. Brower (vol. viii, 232-269); "The Ojibways in Minnesota," Joseph A. Gilfillan (vol. ix, 55-128); several papers on history of missions in Minnesota (vol. x, 156-246); "The Dakotas or Sioux in Minnesota as they were in 1834," Samuel W. Pond (vol. xii, 319-501).

— *Documents relating to the early history of Minnesota.* Ms.

These collections contain many original manuscripts of great value for the history of the upper Mississippi region. Of especial interest are the papers of Henry H. Sibley, first governor of Minnesota; journals of Charles Larpenteur, Indian trader during forty years; letters received by Major Lawrence Taliaferro (dated 1813-1840) from prominent government officials; and papers connected with the Sioux outbreak in 1862.

**MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY** (St. Louis). *Documents relating to the early history of Missouri.* Ms.

A large and valuable collection, mainly concerned with the history of the region west of the Mississippi. Among them are a considerable num-

ber relating to the subject of the present work, especially as follows: On trade and Indian affairs in Upper Louisiana, prior to 1800; papers and letters connected with William Clark's official life; Stephen W. Kearny's journals of trips up the Mississippi (1820) and Missouri (1824); Sibley manuscripts (1803-1836), largely on Indian affairs; and the Sublette and Vasquez collections, containing hundreds of letters, business papers, etc., relating to the fur-trade during the first half of the nineteenth century.

MOONEY, JAMES. The ghost-dance religion and the Sioux outbreak of 1890 (Washington, 1896).

In Bureau of Amer. Ethnology, *Report* for 1892-1893, part ii, pp. 641-1110.

— Mescal plant and ceremony (Detroit, 1896).

In *Therapeutic Gazette*, third ser., vol. xii. Cf. also papers by D. W. Prentiss and F. P. Morgan on same subject (*ibid.*).

MOOREHEAD, WARREN K. Fort Ancient, the great prehistoric earth-work of Warren County, Ohio (Cincinnati, 1890).

— Primitive man in Ohio (New York, 1892).

— Prehistoric implements (Cincinnati, 1900).

— Tonda, a story of the Sioux (Cincinnati, 1904). Illustrated.

MORGAN, LEWIS H. League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee, or Iroquois (Rochester, N.Y., 1851). Illustrated.

This is a book of prime authority on the subject of the famous Iroquois League, and on the character, beliefs, customs, language, etc., of the tribes composing it. Morgan was adopted into the Seneca tribe, and made a careful study of the Iroquois peoples and their life. On a large map of the Iroquois country he shows all the villages and geographical features, with the Indian name of each—a table of these, with meanings in English, and identification of locality, appearing at end of volume.

— Indian migrations.

In *North American Review*, Oct., 1869 and Jan., 1870; reprinted in Beach's *Ind. Miscellany*, 158-257.

— Systems of consanguinity and affinity of the human family (Washington, 1871).

In *Contributions to Knowledge* of Smithsonian Institution, vol. xvii.

— Houses and house-life of the American aborigines (Washington, 1881). Illustrated.

In *Contributions to Amer. Ethnology* of U.S. Geographical and Geological Survey, vol. iv.

— Ancient society; or researches in the lines of human progress from savagery through barbarism to civilization (New York, 1878).

Morgan was a profound student of social evolution and the origins of civilization, and his books are valuable contributions to those subjects.

MORSE, REV. JEDEDIAH. A report to the Secretary of War of the United States, comprising a narrative of . . . the actual state of the Indian Tribes in our country (New Haven, 1822), [with map showing locations of the tribes].

Pp. 11-96 are occupied with Dr. Morse's report to the secretary of war (then John C. Calhoun) on his mission from the government to ascertain the condition of the Indian tribes, performed in the summer of 1820. The rest of the volume (pp. 97-406) is devoted to numerous appendices illustrative of the subject—reports from missionaries, traders, civil and military officials; speeches by Indian chiefs; extracts from some printed works; descriptions of little-known regions; and statistical tables showing the condition of the tribes, the dealings of our government with them, the schools established for them, etc. It is a valuable collection of the best material obtainable at that time, and furnished by competent observers, mainly eyewitnesses of what they related.

NEILL, EDWARD DUFFIELD. The history of Minnesota; from the earliest French explorations to the present time (Minneapolis, 1878, 1882).

First issued in 1858; both above editions (the third and fourth) revised and enlarged by adding much new material, to keep pace with later discovery and research. Written by a scholarly and able historian; contains much about the Indian tribes in Minnesota. The opening chapters of the first edition were reprinted as a separate (Phila., 1859) under the title *Dakotah Land, and Dakotah Life*.

— History of the Ojebways and their connection with the fur traders.

In Minn. Historical Society *Collections*, vol. v, 395-410.

NOBLE LIVES of a noble race (Odanah, Wis., 1909). Illustrated.

Interesting as being mainly the work of the Indian children in the Franciscan industrial school at the Odanah mission. Contains also biographical sketches of missionaries and other friends of the Indians.

NORTH DAKOTA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Collections* (Bismark, 1906-1910 +), vols. i-iii.

OGG, FREDERICK A. The opening of the Mississippi: a struggle for supremacy in the American interior (New York, 1904).

A history of discovery, exploration, and contested rights of navigation on the Mississippi, prior to the end of the War of 1812-1815; gives special attention to the physiographic aspects of the history of the Mississippi basin, and the economic importance of the great river.

OHIO ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. *Quarterly* (Columbus, 1887-1910 +), vols. i-xix.

OTIS, ELWELL S. The Indian question (New York, 1878).

An able and vigorous presentation of this subject from the standpoint of

an army officer. He shows that the Indian population is certainly not decreasing; reviews the policy of colonial and U.S. governments toward the Indian tribes, also the treaty system; regards the Indian as incapable of white civilization; and advocates military control of the reservations.

OWEN, MARY ALICIA. *Folk-lore of the Musquakie Indians of North America* (London, 1904). Illustrated.

This is vol. 51 of *Publications of the Folk-lore Society* [of Great Britain]. A monograph on the folk-lore and customs of the Musquakie Indians of Iowa, better known as the Sauk and Foxes, by a lady who for many years has known these Indians personally and well. During this long acquaintance she collected a considerable quantity of specimens of their ceremonial implements and their beadwork, articles which represented their genuine native industries and their actual usages in ceremonials; this collection she presented to the Folk-lore Society, accompanied by careful descriptive notes and the above monograph. These writings are printed as above, and are illustrated by eight plates (two in colors) from photographs. A unique and important contribution to the history of those tribes.

X PARKMAN, FRANCIS. *The conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian war after the conquest of Canada* (Boston, 1870).

The sixth edition, revised and enlarged.

— *La Salle and the discovery of the great West* (Boston, 1879).

The eleventh edition, revised and enlarged, of "Discovery of the great West."

— *The old régime in Canada* (Boston, 1874).

— *A half-century of conflict* (Boston, 1892). 2 vols.

Covers the period 1700-1748; includes full account of the Fox War.

PARKMAN CLUB OF MILWAUKEE. *Papers* (Milwaukee, 1896-1897). 2 vols.

A series of eighteen short monographs on various topics of Wisconsin and Northwestern history. Among them are: "Nicholas Perrot," G. P. Stickney (no. 1); "Voyages of Radisson and Groseilliers," Henry C. Campbell (no. 2); "Chevalier Henry de Tonty," Henry E. Legler (no. 3); "Aborigines of the Northwest," F. T. Terry (no. 4); "Jonathan Carver," J. G. Gregory (no. 5); "Eleazer Williams," W. W. Wight (no. 7); "Charles Langlade," M. E. McIntosh (no. 8); "Père René Menard," H. C. Campbell (no. 11); "George Rogers Clark and his Illinois campaign," Dan B. Starkey (no. 12); "The use of maize by Wisconsin Indians," G. P. Stickney (no. 13); "Claude Jean Allouez," J. S. La Boule (no. 17).

PEET, STEPHEN D. *Myths and symbols, or aboriginal religions in America* (Chicago, 1905). Illustrated.

Discusses such subjects as Totemism and mythology; The serpent symbol in America; Sky worship; Phallic worship and fire worship; The rain god; Personal divinities and culture heroes; etc. Written by the editor (1878-1910) of the *American Antiquarian*.

PITEZEL, JOHN H. Lights and shades of missionary life during nine years spent in the region of Lake Superior (Cincinnati, 1857).

PITTMAN, PHILIP. The present state of the European settlements on the Mississippi; with a geographical description of that river, illustrated by plans and draughts (London, 1770).

This important work, now exceedingly rare, has been reprinted by the A. H. Clark Co. (Cleveland, 1906), edited and annotated by F. H. Hodder. Pittman was a British military engineer, and gives an accurate account, written from personal observation of the Mississippi settlements just after the English occupation of that country as a result of the peace of 1763. An authority in early Western history, of the highest importance.

POKAGON, SIMON. O-gi-maw-kwe mit-i-gwä-ki—"Queen of the woods" (Hartford, Mich., 1899).

A partly autobiographical story and a chapter on the Algonquin language, written by the noted Potawatomi chief Pokagon; to this the publisher (C. H. Engle) has added a biographical sketch and other data.

— An Indian on the problems of his race.

In *Amer. Review of Reviews*, Dec., 1895.

— The future of the red man.

In *Forum*, Aug., 1897.

POOLE, D. C. Among the Sioux of Dakota: eighteen months' experience as an Indian agent (New York, 1881).

An interesting narrative by an army officer, of his experiences among the Sioux; he describes their character and mode of life, the difficulties arising from their relations with the white settlers, and the perplexities encountered in the administration of the agency system. Written in a spirit of fairness, and appreciation of the good traits in Indian character.

POWELL, JOHN W. The North American Indians (New York, 1894).

In N. S. Shaler's *U.S. of America*, vol. i, 190-272.

— Sketch of the mythology of the North American Indians (Washington, 1881).

In *First Report of Bureau Amer. Ethnology*, 17-69.

— Indian linguistic families of America north of Mexico (Washington, 1891).

In *Seventh Report of Bureau of American Ethnology*, 7-142.

— Technology, or the science of industries.

In *Amer. Anthropologist*, new series, vol. i, 319-349.

— American view of totemism (London, 1902).

In *Man*, vol. ii, no. 75.

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH in United States, General Assembly. The

- church at home and abroad (Philadelphia, 1887-1898). Vols. 1-24. Illustrated.
- PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH. Presbyterian monthly record (Philadelphia, 1850-1886). Vols. 1-37.
- Woman's Board of Home Missions. The home mission monthly (New York, 1887-1910+). Vols. 1-24. Illustrated.
- Women's Foreign Missionary Societies. Woman's work for woman (Philadelphia, Chicago, and New York, 1871-1910+). Vols. 1-25.

After 1904 styled *Woman's Work*.

- PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH, Board of Missions. The spirit of missions (New York, 1836-1910+). Vols. 1-75. Illustrated (after 1873).

In volume for 1874 is a map of the U.S., showing the Indian reservations at that time.

- RADISSON, PETER ESPRIT. Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson, being an account of his travels and experiences among the North American Indians, from 1652 to 1684 (Boston, 1885).

Transcribed from original manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum; edited by Gideon D. Scull; published by the Prince Society. Radisson and his companion, Médart des Groseilliers, explored the wilderness about Lakes Michigan and Superior (1654-1656), and spent a winter with the Sioux Indians in the vicinity of Lake Pepin (1659-1660) — perhaps the first white men to visit those lands; so these narratives are of special interest and value.

- RAMSEY, ALEXANDER. Annual report of the superintendent of Indian affairs in Minnesota territory (Washington, 1849).

Senate *Executive Document*, no. 1, 31st congress, first session.

- RATZEL, FRIEDRICH. The history of mankind (London, 1896). 3 vols. Illustrated.

Translated from the second German edition. A popular but reliable guide to anthropological and ethnological study; and gives a well-written and systematic account of the races of man throughout the world; and contains over one thousand one hundred illustrations of excellent quality, chiefly obtained from material in the great museums.

- RAU, CHARLES. Ancient aboriginal trade in North America; and North American stone implements (Washington, 1873).

In *Report of Smithsonian Institution*, 1872, pp. 348-408.

- REBOK, HORACE M. The last of the Mus-Qua-Kies and the Indian Congress, 1898 (Dayton, O., 1900). Illustrated.

A historical sketch of the Fox and Sac tribes.

REYNOLDS, JOHN. The pioneer history of Illinois, 1673-1818 (Chicago, 1887). Illustrated.

First issued at Belleville, Ill., 1852; the second edition is much improved. The author was governor of Illinois during 1832-1834.

— My own times, 1800-1855 (Chicago, 1879).

A revised edition of an earlier publication by the Chicago Historical Society.

RIGGS, STEPHEN R. Táh-koo Wah-kán, or, the gospel among the Dakotas (Boston, 1869).

A valuable account of the Dakota Sioux, their pagan customs, their native religious beliefs and worship, Protestant mission work among them, their outbreak in 1862 and its results. An appendix contains notes on their medical practices, and their songs and music. Written by a noted missionary, also remarkable for his linguistic ability; he compiled a Dakota grammar and dictionary (Washington, 1890; Dorsey's ed.), and, with his fellow-missionary Thomas S. Williamson, translated the entire Bible into that language—published at Cincinnati (1842), and later at New York (1871-1872, and 1880).

— Mary and I: forty years with the Sioux (Chicago, [1880]).

An interesting narrative of his experiences (1837-1877) as a missionary among the Sioux; mainly devoted to religious and educational work, but incidentally discloses considerable relating to Indian life and character.

RIGHT-HAND THUNDER. The Indian and white man; or, the Indian in self-defense (Indianapolis, 1880).

Written by an Indian chief; edited by D. W. Risher.

ROBINSON, DOANE. Sioux Indians—a history (Cedar Rapids, Ia., 1908). Illustrated.

A full and authoritative history, from the best original sources, of the Sioux of Dakota; written by the superintendent of the South Dakota Historical Society.

—, editor. The South Dakotan, a monthly magazine (Sioux Falls, S.Dak., 1900-1904).

ROOSEVELT, THEODORE. The winning of the West (New York, 1889-1896). 4 vols.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA. Proceedings and transactions (Ottawa, 1882-1910+).

Contains much valuable material regarding the Indian tribes of the northern and eastern United States, as well as numerous articles and papers on Canadian history, biography, etc.

ROYCE, CHARLES C. Indian land cessions in the United States (Washington, 1900).

In the *Eighteenth Report of Bureau of Amer. Ethnology*, part ii. De-

scribes the policy toward the Indians of Spaniards, French, and English respectively, of the several English colonies, and of the United States; enumerates the treaties and acts of Congress authorizing allotments of land in severalty; and presents a schedule of land cessions (from 1784 to 1894), with descriptive and historical data and remarks for each, and maps.

ROYCE, CHARLES C. An inquiry into the identity and history of the Shawnee Indians.

In *Amer. Antiquarian*, vol. iii, 177-189.

RUSH, BENJAMIN. An oration . . . containing an enquiry into the natural history of medicine among the Indians in North America, and a comparative view of their diseases and remedies, with those of civilized nations (Philadelphia, [1774]).

RUTTENBER, E. M. History of the Indian tribes of Hudson's River (Albany, N.Y., 1872). Illustrated.

A reliable account, with numerous annotations, and careful citation of authorities, of the tribes along the Hudson, some of which are mentioned by Perrot and La Potherie as being more or less connected with the affairs of the western tribes.

SCHOOLCRAFT, HENRY R. Notes on the Iroquois; or contributions to American history, antiquities, and general ethnology (Albany, 1847). Illustrated.

Largely historical and archeological; contains also several Iroquois traditions, a chapter on their language, and various miscellanies.

— Oneota: or, characteristics of the red race of America (New York, 1845). Illustrated.

"From original notes and manuscripts."

— Algic researches (New York, 1839). 2 vols.

"Comprising inquiries respecting the mental characteristics of the North American Indians."

— Historical and statistical information respecting the history, condition and prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States (Philadelphia, 1851-1857). 6 vols. Illustrated.

"Collected and prepared under the direction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, per act of Congress of March 3d, 1847. Published by authority of Congress." Schoolcraft used not only his own extensive knowledge, and the unusual opportunities furnished by his marriage to an Indian woman of high rank; but the information and experience of many persons throughout the country who were conversant with Indian character and life, and several original Ms. accounts, previously unpublished. His work is a cyclopedia of the best information then available, much of which is not to be found elsewhere; and it contains much valuable material (also some of little importance) for the study of Indian ethnology, archæology, history, languages,

etc. The illustrations are largely steel engravings, mostly from drawings by Capt. S. Eastman, U.S.A.; and include many colored plates. In vol. vi, the title becomes "History of the Indian tribes of the United States," etc.

SCHOOLCRAFT, HENRY R. The American Indians, their history, condition and prospects, from original notes and manuscripts, new revised edition (Rochester, 1851).

— Personal memoirs of a residence of thirty years with the Indian tribes on the American frontiers, with brief notices of passing events, facts, and opinions, A.D. 1812 to A.D. 1842 (Philadelphia, 1851).

SCHULTZ, J. W. My life as an Indian (New York, 1907).

SHARP, MRS. ABIGAIL G. History of the Spirit Lake massacre, and captivity of Miss Abbie Gardner (Des Moines, 1885).

SHEA, JOHN GILMARY. History of the Catholic missions among the Indian tribes of the United States, 1529-1854 (New York, 1855). Illustrated.

A valuable work, by a leading authority in Catholic history. He relates the labors of Catholic missionaries—Spanish, French, and English, including even mention of the Northmen in Greenland and Vinland—in North America, with abundant reference to original authorities, and adds lists of the French missionaries.

— Discovery and exploration of the Mississippi Valley: with the original narratives of Marquette, Allouez, Membré, Hennepin, and Anastase Douay (New York, 1853).

Translations of above narratives (with annotations and biographical sketches) by Shea.

— Historical sketch of the Tionontates, or Dinondadies, now called Wyandots.

In *Historical Magazine*, vol. v.

— History of the Catholic Church in the United States from the first attempted colonization to the present time (New York, 1886-1892). 4 vols.

SMITH, ERMINNIE A. Myths of the Iroquois (Washington, 1883).

In *Second Report of Bureau of Amer. Ethnology*.

SMITH, GEN. THOMAS A. Letters, reports, and military orders, 1812-1818. Ms.

This officer served in the War of 1812, and during 1815-1818 was at the head of the Western Military Department, with headquarters at St. Louis. His letters, orders, etc., despatched in his official capacity, and letters and reports from his subordinate officers at Forts Smith, Osage, Armstrong, and Crawford, constitute this valuable collection. It is in the possession of the State Historical Society of Missouri, at Columbia.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION. Annual reports of the Boards of Regents (Washington, D.C., 1847-1910+). Illustrated.

The appendices to these reports contain "miscellaneous memoirs of interest to collaborators and correspondents of the Institution, teachers, and others engaged in the promotion of knowledge." Among these are often found papers on archæological and ethnological subjects, written by experts, and largely based on material found in the National Museum. Among these may be noted, in recent reports, the following: Otis T. Mason, "Influence of Environment upon Human Industries or Arts" (1895); Thomas Wilson, "Prehistoric Art" (1896); Havelock Ellis, "Mescal, a new Artificial Paradise" (1897; reprinted from *Contemporary Review*, Jan., 1897); Alice C. Fletcher, "The Import of the Totem" [in the Omaha tribe], (1897); W. A. Phillips, "Stone Implements from the southern Shores of Lake Michigan" (1897); O. T. Mason, "Traps of the American Indians" (1901); W. H. Holmes, "Traces of Aboriginal Operations in an Iron Mine near Leslie, Mo." (1903); *id.*, "The Contributions of American Archeology to History" (1904); Georg Friederici, "Scalping in America" (1906).

— Reports of the United States National Museum (Washington, 1883-1910+). Illustrated.

In recent issues of these *Reports* are the following papers among those "describing and illustrating collections" in the Museum: J. D. McGuire, "Pipes and Smoking Customs of the American Aborigines" (1897); O. T. Mason, "The Man's Knife among the North American Indians" (1897); *id.*, "A Primitive Frame for Weaving narrow Fabrics" (1898); *id.*, "Aboriginal American Harpoons" (1900); *id.*, "Aboriginal American Basketry" (1902).

— Smithsonian contributions to knowledge, vols. i-xxxiv (Washington, 1848-1910+). Illustrated.

Notable articles therein: E. G. Squier, "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley" (vol. i); *id.*, "Aboriginal Monuments of the State of New York" (vol. ii); Charles Whittlesey, "Description of Ancient Works in Ohio" (vol. iii); I. A. Lapham, "The Antiquities of Wisconsin" (vol. vii); C. Whittlesey, "Ancient Mining on the shores of Lake Superior" (vol. xiii); Lewis H. Morgan, "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family" (vol. xvii); Charles Rau, "The Archæological Collection of the U.S. National Museum" (vol. xxii); *id.*, "Prehistoric Fishing in Europe and North America" (vol. xxv).

SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL among the Indians and others in North America, 1787-1887. [Boston, 1887.]

A centennial publication, containing historical sketches of the society, lists of officers, enumeration of its publications, etc. See the *Reports* and other matter issued by the society, for accounts of its work.

SOUTH DAKOTA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Historical collections (Aberdeen, 1902-1908+). Illustrated.

Vol. ii is devoted to a "History of the Sioux Indians," by Doane Robinson, secretary of the society.

SQUIER, E. G., and E. H. Davis. Ancient monuments of the Mississippi valley (Washington, 1848). Illustrations.

In *Contrib. to Knowledge* of Smithsonian Institution, vol. i.

STARR, FREDERICK. American Indians (Boston, 1899). Illustrated.

"Intended as a reading book for boys and girls in school," for which purpose it is admirable.

STEARNS, ROBERT E. C. Ethno-conchology: a study of primitive money.

In *Report* of Smithsonian Institution, 1887, part ii, pp. 297-334.

STEVENS, FRANK E. The Black Hawk War, including a review of Black Hawk's life (Chicago, 1903). Illustrated.

By far the most extensive and full account of the Black Hawk War, and of the life and deeds of that noted chief; based on the best printed sources, interviews, and correspondences and numerous original documents. Contains over three hundred portraits and views, of great historical value.

STEWART, JOHN F. Lost Maramech and earliest Chicago: a history of the Foxes and of their downfall near the great village of Maramech (Chicago, 1903). Illustrated.

The story of the Fox tribe, as found in original sources, chiefly Mss. from Paris archives. This author locates at Maramech Hill (near the junction of Big Rock Creek with the Fox River of Illinois) the great battle of 1730, when the Fox tribe was almost exterminated.

STICKNEY, GARDNER P. Nicholas Perrot.

— The use of maize by Wisconsin Indians.

Both these papers are in Parkman Club *Publications*, q.v.

— Indian use of wild rice.

In *Amer. Anthropologist*, vol. ix, 115-121.

STITES, SARA H. Economics of the Iroquois (Bryn Mawr, Pa., 1905).

In *Monograph Series* of Bryn Mawr College, vol. i, no. 3.

STURTEVANT, LEWIS. Indian corn and the Indian (Philadelphia, 1885).

In *Amer. Naturalist*, vol. xix.

TANNER, JOHN. Narrative of captivity and adventures during thirty years' residence among the Indians in the interior of North America (New York, 1830).

"Prepared for the press by Edwin James, M.D." A detailed narrative of Tanner's experiences among the Indian tribes of the northwest; their

customs and mode of life, etc. To this Dr. James has added much linguistic and ethnological information.

**TAYLOR, EDWARD L.** Monuments to historical Indian chiefs.

In *Publications* of Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, vol. ix, 1-31, xi, 1-29.

**TECUMSEH.** Letters, notes, memoirs, etc., relating to Tecumseh, 1780-1840. Ms. 13 vols.

A collection by L. C. Draper of materials for an intended life of this great chief; includes much and valuable unpublished material regarding Tecumseh's life, travels among the various tribes, influence on his fellow-Indians, battles, etc. It is in the possession of the Wisconsin State Historical Society.

**TEXTOR, LUCY E.** Official relations between the United States and the Sioux Indians (Palo Alto, Cal., 1896).

Leland Stanford University *Publication*. Contains a full résumé of the Indian policy of the United States.

**THOMAS, CYRUS.** Indians of North America in historic times (Philadelphia, 1903). Illustrated.

In *History of North America* (Guy C. Lee, editor), vol. ii. Written "in conference with W. J. McGee."

— Introduction to the study of North American archæology (Cincinnati, 1898; reprinted in 1903).

— Burial mounds of the northern section of the United States (Washington, 1887).

In *Fifth Report*, Bureau of Amer. Ethnology.

— Catalogue of prehistoric works east of the Rocky Mountains (Washington, 1891).

*Bulletin* 12, Bureau of Amer. Ethnology. A bibliography of the writings of this eminent scientist, prepared by himself a short time before his death, is published in *Amer. Anthropologist*, new series, vol. xii, 339-343.

**THOMAS, WILLIAM I.** Source book for social origins: ethnological materials, psychological standpoint, classified and annotated bibliographies for the interpretation of savage society (Chicago, 1909).

**THWAITES, REUBEN G.** France in America, 1497-1763 (New York, 1905).

This is vol. vii in *The American Nation* (A. B. Hart, editor).

— The story of Wisconsin (Boston, 1899).

Revised and enlarged from edition of 1890.

— Wisconsin: the Americanization of a French settlement (Boston, 1908).

THWAITES, REUBEN G. How George Rogers Clark won the Northwest, and other essays in Western history (Chicago, 1903).

— Father Marquette (New York, 1902).

— The story of the Black Hawk War (Madison, Wis., 1892).

In Wisconsin *Historical Collections*, vol. xii.

— (editor). Early western travels, 1748-1846 (Cleveland, 1904-1907). 32 vols. Illustrated.

"A series of annotated reprints of some of the best and rarest contemporary volumes of travel, descriptive of the Aborigines and social and economic conditions in the Middle and Far West, during the period of early American settlement." A most valuable contribution to American history, inasmuch as the works here reprinted are seldom found except in the large collections of Americana, and were thus accessible to but few students; and as this edition furnishes with them copious annotations and other aids to the reader, the results of modern research. Among these writings are some that relate to the tribes considered in the present work, or to the history of the period which it covers; the more important of these are noted as follows:

Volume I. Conrad Weiser's journal of a tour to the Ohio, 1748; George Croghan's letters and journals, 1750-1765; Charles F. Post's journals of Western tours, 1758-1759; Thomas Morris's *Journal of . . . experiences on the Maumee, 1764* (London, 1791). [These documents are especially valuable because they furnish the history of English relations with the French and Indians upon the western borders during the last French War, and its sequel, Pontiac's conspiracy. Two of the authors, Weiser and Croghan, were government Indian agents; the third, Post, was a Moravian missionary; and the fourth, Morris, was a British army officer.]

Volume II. J. Long's *Voyages and travels of an Indian interpreter and trader* (London, 1791). [The author spent twenty years in the fur-trade and among the northern tribes, and presents a graphic picture of Indian and Canadian life, and of conditions and methods in the fur-trade; also many vocabularies of Indian words, and observations on their analogies.]

Volume V. John Bradbury's *Travels in the interior of America, in 1809-1811* (London, 1819). [Bradbury was a zealous and indefatigable observer, and traveled through most of the regions of the Mississippi valley, and up the Missouri. His book is one of the best existing authorities of this period.]

Volume VI. H. M. Brackenridge's *Journal of a voyage up the River Missouri, 1811* (Baltimore, 1816). [A reliable early authority.]

Volume VIII. Estwick Evans's *Pedestrious tour . . . through the Western states and territories, 1818* (Concord, N.H., 1819). [Evans traveled along Lake Erie to Detroit, and down the Ohio and Mississippi to the Gulf.]

Volume XIII. Thomas Nuttall's *Journal of travels into the Arkansas Territory, 1819; with observations on the manners of the aborigines* (Philadelphia, 1821). [The author was a scientist of high standing, who in the pursuit of knowledge traveled more than five thousand miles, through a region of which most was still the possession of wild Indian tribes; of these he has given minute and reliable accounts.]

Volumes XXII-XXV. Prince Maximilien's *Voyage in the interior of North America*, 1832-1834. English translation (London, 1843). [An elaborate account—descriptive, historical, ethnological, and scientific—of the region between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains, and of the Indian tribes dwelling therein; magnificently illustrated by a special artist who accompanied the expedition.]

THWAITES, REUBEN G. (editor). [See also *Jesuit Relations*; and Wisconsin Historical Society, *Collections and Proceedings*.]

TURNER, FREDERICK J. The character and influence of the Indian trade in Wisconsin; a study of the trading post as an institution (Baltimore, 1891).

In *Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies*, vol. ix, 543-615. A revised and enlarged form of an address given before the Wisconsin Historical Society, Jan. 3, 1889 (printed in *Proceedings* of the society, 1889, pp. 52-98).

— Rise of the new West, 1819-1829 (New York, 1906).

This is vol. xiv of *The American Nation* (A. B. Hart, editor).

— The significance of the frontier in American history (Madison, Wis., 1893).

In *Proceedings* of Wis. Historical Society, 1893, pp. 79-112.

TYLOR, EDWARD B. Primitive culture: researches into the development of mythology, philosophy, religion, language, art, and custom (London, 1903). 2 vols.

First published in 1871; above is fourth edition, revised.

UPHAM, WARREN, and others. Minnesota in three centuries: 1655-1908 ([New York], 1908). 4 vols. Illustrated.

Written by the secretary and other members of the Minnesota Historical Society, largely from original material in the collections of that society.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR. Statistics of Indian tribes, Indian agencies, and Indian schools of every character; corrected to January 1, 1899 (Washington, 1899).

— Half-breed scrip. Chippewas of Lake Superior (Washington, 1874).

"The correspondence and action under the 7th clause of the second article of the treaty with the Chippewa Indians of Lake Superior and the Mississippi . . . concluded at La Pointe, Sept. 30, 1854," including also reports of government commissions appointed in 1871 and 1872.

VERWYST, REV. CHRYSOSTOMUS. Life and labors of Rt. Rev. Fred-eric Baraga (Milwaukee, 1900). Illustrated.

A carefully-prepared narrative (from original sources) of the noted Bishop Baraga's missionary labors among the Indian tribes in the northern peninsula of Michigan (1831-1867). Contains much valuable informa-

tion about the Indians, their mode of life, character, beliefs, etc.; and includes sketches of earlier missionaries.

VERWYST, REV. CHRYSOSTOMUS. Missionary labors of Fathers Marquette, Menard, and Allouez, in the Lake Superior region (Milwaukee and Chicago, 1886).

WAKEFIELD, JOHN A. History of the war between the United States and the Sac and Fox Nations of Indians (Jacksonville, Ill., 1834; Chicago, 1908, Caxton Club reprint). Illustrated.

A valuable contemporary account, by a militia officer engaged in that war. To the reprint are added useful notes and a sketch of Wakefield's life by the editor, Frank E. Stevens.

WALKER, FRANCIS A. The Indian question (Boston, 1874).

The author was commissioner of Indian affairs, and discusses the Indian policy of the United States.

WARREN, WILLIAM W. History of the Ojibways, based upon traditions and oral statements (St. Paul, 1885).

This account is contained in vol. v of the Minnesota Historical Society's *Collections*, 21-394.

WEBB, J. WATSON, editor. Altowan, or life and adventure in the Rocky Mountains (New York, 1846). 2 vols.

Contains accounts of the mode of life, character, and traditions of the Winnebago and Potawatomi Indians.

WEBSTER, HUTTON. Primitive secret societies: a study in early politics and religion (New York, 1908).

Shows painstaking research and compilation, and is "probably the best general work on the subject that has yet appeared, at least in English." It treats such topics as "The men's house," "The puberty institution," "The secret rites," "Development of tribal societies," "Clan ceremonies," "Magical fraternities," etc.

WHITE, E. E. Service on the Indian reservations (Little Rock, Ark., 1893).

"The experiences of a special Indian agent while inspecting agencies and serving as agent for various tribes, including explanations of how the government service is conducted on the reservations; descriptions of agencies; anecdotes illustrating the habits, customs, and peculiarities of the Indians."

WILSON, DANIEL. Prehistoric man: researches into the origin of civilization in the Old and the New World, third edition (London, 1876). Illustrated.

In *Proceedings* of Royal Society of Canada are the following papers by this author: "The Huron-Iroquois of Canada, a typical race of American aborigines" (vol. ii, sec. 2, pp. 55-106); "Paleolithic dexterity" (vol. iii, sec. 2, pp. 119-133); "Trade and commerce in the stone age" (vol. vii, sec. 2, pp. 59-87).

WILSON, FRAZER E. The treaty of Greenville (Piqua, O., 1894). Illustrated.

An official account of the treaty, together with the expeditions of St. Clair and Wayne against the northwestern Indian tribes.

WILSON, THOMAS. Arrowpoints, spearheads, and knives of prehistoric times.

In *Report of U.S. National Museum*, 1897, part 1, pp. 811-988.

— Prehistoric art.

In *Report of U.S. National Museum*, 1896, pp. 325-664.

— Study of prehistoric anthropology.

In *Report of U.S. National Museum*, 1888, pp. 597-671.

WINSOR, JUSTIN. Mississippi basin: the struggle in America between England and France, 1697-1763 (Boston and New York, 1895). Illustrated.

— Narrative and critical history of America (Boston and N.Y., 1889). 8 vols. Illustrated.

Volume 1 is devoted largely to the aborigines of North America; and a bibliography of that subject is given in pp. 413-444.

— The westward movement: the colonies and the republic west of the Alleghanies (Boston, 1897). Illustrated.

WISCONSIN fur-trade accounts, 1792-1875. Ms. 17 vols.

These papers (in the possession of the Wisconsin State Historical Society) include invoices, claims, and other business documents, written in both French and English, and refer to practically all the territory on the map published with this book. They are concerned mainly with the operations of the Green Bay fur-traders, and to some extent those of Mackinac; and include, besides, many military and government accounts.

WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Vols. i-xix (Madison, Wis., 1855-1910+).

This series constitutes one of our most valuable sources for the history of French occupation and of the Indian tribes of the northwest. It was edited by Dr. Lyman C. Draper (1855-1888) and Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites (since 1888), successively secretaries of the Wisconsin Historical Society, and both widely known as authorities in the field of Wisconsin history and in that of the Indian tribes of the state. It contains much original documentary material, often its first publication; papers and articles by many specialists in those lines; reminiscences and narratives by old residents, traders, missionaries, and others; reports of interviews with Indian chiefs, etc. Many references have been made to the *Collections* in the annotations to the present work. The following list of articles especially bearing on the field of this work may be found therein:

Volume 1—Lieut. James Gorrell's journal, 1761-1763, pp. 24-48 (account

of the Indians, their commerce, relations with English, councils, etc.); Charles Whittlesey's "Recollections," 1832, pp. 64-85 (Black Hawk War, and other matter about Indians).

Volume II — James H. Lockwood's "Early Times in Wisconsin," (1812-1832, pp. 130-195 (Indian trade, character, customs, relations with whites, etc.); John Shaw's "Narrative," (1812-1816), pp. 204-229 (relations of Indians with whites); Papers on Winnebago and Black Hawk Wars (1827-1832), pp. 329-414; "Advent of N.Y. Indians into Wisconsin" (1816-1838), pp. 415-449.

Volume III — J. G. Shea's "Indian Tribes in Wisconsin," pp. 125-138. Cass Mss. (documents from French archives, 1723-1727), pp. 139-177 (customs of Indians, relations with French); Alfred Brunson's "Ancient Mounds in Crawford County," pp. 178-184 (followed by *résumé* of Lapham's *Antiquities of Wisconsin*); Augustin Grignon's "Recollections," 1745-1832, pp. 197-295 (Langlade, Indian trade and traders, sketches of Indian chiefs, etc.); B. P. H. Witherell's "Reminiscences," pp. 297-337 (Tecumseh, War of 1812, etc.); R. F. Morse's "Chippewas of Lake Superior," pp. 338-369.

Volume IV — John Y. Smith's "Origin of the American Indians," pp. 117-152; Ebenezer Childs's "Recollections," pp. 156-185 (1820-1832; Indian trade, Black Hawk, etc.); Alfred Brunson's "Early History of Wisconsin," pp. 223-251 (Indian tribes, relations with whites); various papers relating to New York Indians, pp. 291-334.

Volume V — "Canadian Documents," 1690-1730 (obtained from French archives), pp. 64-122 (Fox War, etc.); Papers on the Winnebago War of 1827 (Lewis Cass, T. L. McKenney, and others), pp. 123-158, 178-204; *id.*, on the Black Hawk War, pp. 285-320; Notices of Chippewa chief Hole-in-the-Day, pp. 376-416.

Volume VI — Forsyth's journal of a voyage up the Mississippi, 1819, pp. 188-219 (followed by a letter from him to Gen. William Clark); Moses Meeker's "Early History of the Lead Region," pp. 271-296.

Volume VII — J. D. Butler's "Prehistoric Wisconsin," pp. 80-101; Joseph Tassé's "Mémorial of Charles de Langlade," pp. 123-187; J. T. de la Ronde's "Narrative," (1828-1842), pp. 346-365; Henry Merrell's "Narrative," (1835-1840), pp. 382-399.

Volume VIII — Papers on implements and early mining of copper, pp. 140-173; "The Pictured Cave of La Crosse Valley," pp. 174-187; Documents relating to the French in the Northwest, 1737-1800, pp. 209-240; M. M. Strong's "Indian Wars in Wisconsin," pp. 241-286.

Volume X — E. Crespel's account of De Lignery's expedition, 1728, pp. 47-53; French forts in Wisconsin (by E. D. Neill, L. C. Draper, and others), pp. 54-63, 292-372; Lawe and Grignon papers, 1794-1821, pp. 90-140; Papers of Thomas G. Anderson (British Indian agent), 1814-1821, pp. 142-149; Papers on the Black Hawk War, pp. 150-229.

Volume XI — "Western State Papers," (documents relating to French, English, and American domination), 1671-1787, pp. 26-63; Radisson's "Voyages" in Wisconsin, pp. 64-96; Papers from Canadian archives, 1778-1783, pp. 97-212; Documents (by Dickson, Forsyth, and others) relating to Wisconsin in War of 1812, pp. 247-355.

Volume XII—Documents from Canadian archives, 1767-1814, pp. 23-132; Two papers on Indian trade, pp. 133-169; R. G. Thwaites's "Story of the Black Hawk War," pp. 217-265; *Papers of Indian Agent Boyd*, 1832, pp. 266-298; Moses Paquette's account of Wisconsin Winnebagoes, pp. 399-433.

Volume XIII—Documents relating to British occupation of Prairie du Chien in War of 1812, pp. 1-162; Early mining and use of lead (O. G. Libby and R. G. Thwaites), pp. 271-374; History of Chequamegon Bay (R. G. Thwaites and Rev. C. Verwyst), pp. 397-440.

Volume XIV—Elizabeth T. Baird's "Early Days on Mackinac Island," pp. 17-64; A. J. Turner's "History of Fort Winnebago," etc., pp. 65-117; Catholic missions to Indians, in nineteenth century, pp. 155-205.

Volume XV—"Some Wisconsin Indian Conveyances, 1793-1836," pp. 1-24; Mission to the Stockbridge Indians, 1825-1848, pp. 25-204.

Volumes XVI-XVII—Documents from the French archives, relating to the French régime in Wisconsin (1634-1748); many of these were hitherto unpublished, and they correct many errors and fill many gaps in north-western history of that period.

Volume XVIII—Documents from the French, Canadian, and Spanish archives, relating to the domination of France (1743-1760) and England (1760-1800) in Wisconsin. Register of marriages in the parish of Michilimackinac, 1725-1821.

Volume XIX—Register of Mackinac baptisms, etc., 1695-1821, pp. 1-162; Journal of the fur-trader Malhiot, 1804-1805, pp. 163-233; The fur trade on the upper lakes, and in Wisconsin, 1778-1815, pp. 234-488 (from original sources in the Federal archives at Washington, the libraries of C. M. Burton and the Wis. Historical Society, etc.).

WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Proceedings, at the annual meetings (Madison, 18--1910+).

Notable papers in recent years: "Indian agriculture in Southern Wisconsin," B. H. Hibbard (1904); "Historic sites on Green Bay," A. C. Neville, and "Printed narratives of Wisconsin travelers prior to 1800," Henry E. Legler (1905); "The habitat of the Winnebago, 1632-1832," P. V. Lawson, and "The Mascoutin Village [in central Wisconsin]," John J. Wood and Rev. Arthur E. Jones, S.J. (1906); "The Fox Indians during the French régime," Louise P. Kellogg (1907); "The old West," Frederick J. Turner (1908); "Indian Diplomacy and the opening of the Revolution in the West," James Alton James, and "Bibliography of Carver's *Travels*," John T. Lee (1909); "The relation of archæology and history," Carl R. Fish, and "A Menominee Indian payment in 1838," Gustave de Neveu (1910).

WOOD, NORMAN B. *Lives of famous Indian chiefs* (Aurora, Ill. [1906]). Illustrated.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES of nearly a score of renowned Indian chiefs, from Powhatan to Geronimo; also numerous anecdotes, stories, etc., designed to show the traits of the Indian character. The illustrations are unusually good—chiefly portraits, most of them from pictures in Field and National Museums.

YARROW, H. C. Introduction to the study of mortuary customs among the North American Indians (Washington, 1880).

A *Bulletin* of Smithsonian Institution.

— A further contribution to the study of the mortuary customs of the North American Indians (Washington, 1881).

In *First Report* of Bureau of American Ethnology, pp. 87-203.

YOUNG, EGERTON R., compiler. Algonquin Indian tales (New York, [1903]). Illustrated.

Collected among the Ojibwa and other northern peoples, during some thirty years. A chief figure in them is the miraculous being Nanabozho.

ZITKALA-SA. Old Indian legends retold (Boston, 1901).

A delightful collection of Dakota stories told by an educated young woman of that people, and illustrated by Miss Angel de Cora, an artist belonging to the Winnebago tribe.

## ADDENDA



## ADDENDA

Doctor Paul Radin, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, has kindly revised the proofs for the second half of volume II and prepared the following additional matter. This courtesy was extended by Doctor Radin to the editor on account of the latter's serious illness and to avoid delay in publication.

The index was prepared by Gertrude M. Robertson.

### *Location of tribes*

**Amikwa:** on the north shore of Lake Huron opposite Manitoulin, Indiana till 1672; scattered to French settlements afterwards, some of them going to Green Bay.

**Chippewa:** formerly along both shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior across Minnesota to Turtle Mountains. In 1640, they were at the Sault. Since 1815 they have been settled in Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and North Dakota. *Villages* – Cheboygan and Thunder Bay in lower Michigan, Pawating and Ontonagon in Wisconsin.

**Conestoga:** an Iroquoian tribe on the Susquehanna River.

**Delaware:** the entire basin of the Delaware River, in eastern Pennsylvania and southeastern New York with most of Delaware and New Jersey.

**Fox:** Lake Winnebago and Fox River, with numerous villages along the same.

**Huron:** Lake Simcoe, south and east of Georgian Bay and afterwards along the St. Lawrence River. *Villages* – Andiatia and Sandusky.

**Illinois:** formerly in southern Wisconsin and northern Illinois and sections of Iowa and Missouri, along western banks of the Mississippi as far as the Des Moines River.

**Menominee:** first at the Bay de Noque and Menominee River. In 1671 to 1852 on or near the Menominee and Fox Rivers. *Villages* – St. Francis and St. Michael.

**Miami:** in 1658 at St. Michael about the mouth of Green Bay. *Villages* – Little Turtle and Piankaskaw.

Mascoutin: beyond and south of Lake Huron and subsequently on the Fox River.

Mohawk: in the upper part of New York State.

Montagnais: on the St. Maurice River and eastward almost to the Atlantic Ocean.

Neutrals: north of Lake Erie.

Nippising: on Lake Nippising and Lake Nipigon.

Oneida: south of Lake Oneida.

Onondaga: in Onondaga County, New York.

Ottawa: on French River, Georgian Bay. *Villages* – Walpole Island and Michilimacinac.

Peoria: on some river west of Mississippi and above the mouth of the Wisconsin River, probably upper Iowa River.

Potawatomi: on the western shore of Lake Huron and south along the western shore of Lake Michigan. *Villages* – Milwaukee and Little Rock.

Sauk: the eastern peninsula of Michigan and south of it. *Village* – De pere Rapids, Wisconsin.

Shawnee: South Carolina, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Ohio.

Seneca: western New York between Lake Seneca and Genesee River.

Santee Sioux: near Lake Buadelower, Minnesota.

Teton Sioux: above the Falls of St. Anthony, Minnesota.

Winnebago: Green Bay and along the shores of the Fox River and Lake Winnebago. *Villages* – Red Banks and Doty Island.

Yankton Sioux: north of Mille Lac, Minnesota.

#### *Addition to annotations*

Volume II, page 192, line 13, "parties:" Schoolcraft in *Thirty years with the Indian tribes*, 215-216, gives an eloquent description of a party of Fox warriors. He says: "But no tribe attracted so intense a degree of interest as the Iowas and the Sacs and Foxes, tribes of radically diverse languages, yet united in a league against the Sioux. These tribes were encamped on the island or opposite coast. They came to the treaty ground armed and dressed as a war party. They were all armed with spears, clubs, guns, and knives. Many of the warriors had a long tuft of red horse hair tied to their elbows and bore a necklace of grizzly bears claws. Their head-dress consisted of red dyed horse-hair, tied in such a manner to the scalp-locks to present the shape of the decoration of a Roman helmet. The rest of the head was completely shaved and painted. A long iron-shod lance was carried in the hand. A species of baldric supported

part of their arms. The azian, moccasin, and leggings constituted part of their arms. They were indeed nearly nude and painted. Often, the print of a hand in white clay, marked the back or shoulders. They bore flags of feathers. They beat drums. They uttered yells at definite points. They landed in compact ranks. They looked the very spirit of defiance. Their leader stood as a prince, majestic and frowning. The wild native pride of man, in the savage state, flushed by success in war and confident in the strength of his arm was never so fully depicted to my eyes. And the forest tribes of the continent may be challenged to have ever presented a spectacle of bold daring and martial prowess equal to their landing."

*Additions to bibliography*

Volume II, page 302, following line 15:

An interesting discovery regarding Perrot's memoir has been made by Mr. Wilberforce Eames of Lenox Library, New York City. This is, that the book had two issues in the same year, pages 221 and 222 being cancelled and cut out and replaced by another leaf which was pasted on the stub of the former. The changes in the two pages mentioned, were made in the second issue of the year. The differences between the two issues are for the most part in minor details. In some cases, the second issue omits details mentioned in the first issue, and vice versa. All these details relate to the distribution of the Illinois tribes.

Mr. Eames has courteously placed these facts and a transcript of the cancelled pages at the disposal of the editor.

Also the following additions to the alphabetical arrangement of the bibliography, volume II, pages 330-339:

LETTRES ÉDIFIANTES et curieuses écrites des missions étrangères; collected by C. le Gobien, J. B. du Halde, N. Maréchal and L. Patouillet and first published in Paris, 1776. Rearranged and edited by Y.M.M.T. de Querbeuf (Paris, 1780-1788), 14 vols.

Only vols. iv and v relate to America.

LEWIS, J. O. The Aboriginal Portfolio (Philadelphia, 1835).

RADIN, PAUL. Winnebago tales; printed in *Journal of American Folklore*, 1909.

— Clan organization of the Winnebago; printed in *American Anthropologist*, 1910.

— The ritual and significance of the Winnebago medicine dance; printed in *Journal of American Folklore*, 1911.



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